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ENGLISH COMMERCIAL STATISTICS

1696-1782





# GUIDE TO ENGLISH COMMERCIAL STATISTICS 1696-1782

BY

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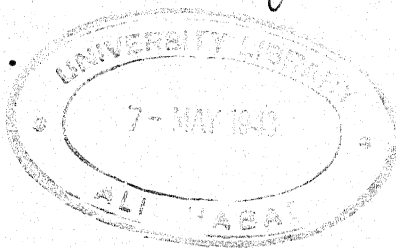
WITH A CATALOGUE OF MATERIALS

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## PREFACE

THIS book is not a history of English trade in the period which it covers, nor is it even a direct contribution to that history ; it is a guide to the use of one class of materials, the statistical materials. It consists of three parts. First is an historical account of the origin, purpose, nature and value of the commercial statistics, for which Professor Clark is alone responsible. This is followed by the texts of some of the more important of the documents on which it is based, most of which were transcribed by Mrs. Franks. Lastly, there is a chronological list of the statistical materials themselves, with an explanatory note at the beginning. This list was prepared by Mrs. Franks under Professor Clark's direction. Mrs. Franks also typed a large proportion of the whole work, and prepared the index. Before the completion of her share of the work she ceased to reside in England, and moved to Scotland, so that it became necessary for her work in the Public Record Office and the British Museum to be completed by Miss Rosamond Jevons.

The Royal Historical Society made a welcome contribution to the expense of transcription and cataloguing, for which we wish to record our thanks. We have also received much invaluable assistance and encouragement from the Society's Director of Publications, Dr. Hubert Hall. We acknowledge this with the greater pleasure, because Dr. Hall himself laid the foundations and worked out the general design of the two studies to which this is a small contribution, that of customs administration and that of the commercial archives of modern England. The second name we have to mention is that of one who will not see this work, the late Mr. J. R. Crompton of the Public Record Office. In many matters of detail he put his great knowledge of administrative history at our disposal. He was always helpful and always resourceful ; his early death is a grievous loss to the study of English financial administration in the seventeenth century, to which he seemed destined to add more than any other historian.

For permission to use the records at the Custom House in London, we have to thank the Commissioners of Customs and Excise ; and to Mr. B. R. Leftwich, M.B.E., the Librarian, who has charge of the records, we owe not only personal kindness, but also a number of valuable suggestions on historical matters.

Dates in this volume are given as in the authorities—Old Style down to 2 September, and New Style from 14 September, 1752.



## INTRODUCTION

In spite of much useful work that has been done in providing guides to the public records,<sup>1</sup> students of English economic statistics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries still often suffer from the mishaps that such guides can prevent. Some of these students laboriously transcribe documents which are already accessible in print; others do calculations which were done, and better done, by officials in the period itself; many are unaware of the existence of information relevant to their purpose, and, of those who draw upon it, almost all make mistakes of interpretation. This volume is meant to give a systematic account of the materials, explaining their nature and assessing their value. It gives references to a large number of documents. There are still others in existence which might, with equal appropriateness, have been included; but completeness would scarcely have been attainable, and, if the book fulfils its main intention, absolute completeness will be unnecessary. That intention is to distinguish the classes of materials, according to their origins, in such a way that any isolated new specimen can easily be fitted into its place in the scheme. Thus it will be possible to show, not merely the purpose for which each class can be used as evidence, but, better still, what is the best evidence for each purpose. Attention will be directed to materials which are often overlooked, but the general problem will be simplified by showing that many of the documents are duplicates or derivatives, and so can, for all practical purposes, be eliminated from use.

A guide which aims at doing this must trace the process by which the statistics came into existence, that is to say it must in the first place give the administrative history of the government offices which did statistical work. The commercial and shipping statistics almost all came from such offices, but there were other statistics, especially the very important class called vital statistics, which, in this period, were constructed by private enquiries, if partly on the basis of official materials. This is a reminder that the rise of commercial statistics is not merely a part of administrative history, but also a part of the history of thought. We must, therefore, enquire how these collections of figures were used by contemporaries and in later times. Statistics are made because it is believed that quantitative knowledge will be useful in shaping

<sup>1</sup> The most useful for this purpose is C. M. Andrews, *Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783 in the Public Record Office*, 2 vols., 1912-14. Dr. F. Lohmann, in his article 'Die amtliche Handelsstatistik Englands und Frankreichs in 18 Jahrhundert,' in Berlin Academy, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1898, ii. 859, gave an excellent account, so far as the printed sources then went, of the statistics of the inspectors-general of imports and exports and the most nearly comparable French materials of the eighteenth century.

policy : the sort of knowledge desired will depend on the prevailing economic conceptions. Once it has been obtained, this knowledge becomes one of the component factors of ideas and policy, so that statistics are historically always both a product and a determinant of thought and action. Their place in the general history of thought or of economic life has not, however, been invariably the same. In the last four centuries they have risen from a very humble to a very prominent place. At the present time we think or pretend to think in statistical terms about all the sciences, natural and social ; and the most important aspect of the development described in this volume is that it took English politicians and economists a long way on this road.

Although figures have been used for some of the purposes of government from the earliest historic times, their employment has gradually spread from narrow and specific purposes, like those of taxation and military levies, until in our own time it extends to every public activity. In the Middle Ages only a small number of administrative specialists made any use of arithmetic, and even in commerce there were few who attempted any but the most elementary mathematical operations. The general medieval indifference to numbers, of which the best-known example is the Herodotean inaccuracy of the chroniclers, gave way as the knowledge of arithmetic spread more widely, and by the fifteenth century quantitative method became more familiar, both in the book-keeping of the greater merchants and in the estate-management of the greater magnates. There were, indeed, medieval attempts to estimate the quantity of the imports and exports of England,<sup>1</sup> but they had little value in themselves, and little use can ever have been made of them. The real beginnings of commercial statistics belong to the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. By this time the knowledge of at least elementary arithmetic was widely diffused among the governing classes, and the foundations of the state had changed in such a way as to afford many opportunities for its use. With the spread of money economy, it came about that the subjects contributed to the upkeep of government, not mainly in feudal dues and services but in a public revenue. This revenue had to be estimated, not indeed as a single whole, but in a few large branches ; and not merely in each year, but in rough forecasts for the future. Armies were now hired for pay ; civil servants were salaried officials ; military stores, far more expensive than of old, had to be bought from contractors, and so on through most of the activities of the state. In what was now a more complicated economic system, the ascertainment of a prince's rights had to be done by a more advanced method, the more so because opposition was becoming more ingenious and itself rested sometimes on special economic knowledge.

In the late sixteenth century the attitude of statesmen to the resources of the state differed from that of the earlier Middle Ages : they were accustomed now to take thought not only for the dues which a prince collected from his subjects, but also for the wealth

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. xii.

of all these subjects themselves. They regarded this wealth as a whole, to be husbanded, in order that the state might be enriched from its abundance. They followed that habit of thought which we call 'mercantilism.' Regarding the community as the inhabitants of one great farm, they inevitably applied to its economy the methods they had used for finance and estate-management; and this is the origin of commercial statistics.

#### STATISTICS BASED ON THE YIELD OF THE CUSTOMS

Mercantilism contains in germ the conception of economic planning, but there was only one department of economic life in which the sixteenth century had the means or the skill to plan in terms of figures, namely foreign trade. It was impossible to calculate the domestic production of goods except in the few industries which, like mining, were concentrated in local centres; it was equally impossible to trace the innumerable movements of small quantities of goods by barge or pack-horse within a kingdom, except at a few places where all travellers had to pass a toll-bar.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it was relatively easy to watch the arrivals and departures of ships, the landing and loading of goods. For centuries a great branch of the English administration had been engaged in taxing these, and had kept elaborate records of its work. In the year 1559, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, a change was made which not only increased the yield of the customs but also made it for the first time possible to observe accurately what quantities of goods were loaded and discharged. This was the provision that no goods should be loaded or discharged except in daylight and at open places assigned for the purpose, the beginning of the system of 'lawful quays.'<sup>2</sup> The readiest means of moulding a national economy was to control foreign trade, to favour certain branches and to prohibit or discourage others; and it was not only the readiest to hand, but the means which most easily lent itself to quantitative calculation. According to current ideas figures of foreign trade were useful; they were also easy to obtain. We therefore find them collected in Elizabethan England through the machinery of the customs.<sup>3</sup>

For the time of James I some similar documents are preserved, together with the calculations on which they were based, and these have a special reference to the monetary balance of trade. Sir Lionel Cranfield, as surveyor-general of the customs, used the London figures of 1605-11 to make an estimate of the average excess of exports. His method was very rough: he multiplied

<sup>1</sup> When, after Adam Smith, the importance of the home market was much in the minds of economists, it was still held that 'there is no possibility of obtaining an estimate of the home trade' (D. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, iii (1805). 340), and no serious attempt seems to have been made to use the figures of the excise, instituted in the seventeenth century, for estimating the consumption of the commodities to which it applied.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Eliz., c. 11, secs. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> See the table of English imports and exports for 1570 in H. Hall, *History of the Custom-Revenue* (1885), vol. ii, Appendix, which gives, besides the custom paid, the bulk and value.



the amount of custom received by the rate paid on each commodity, but he added a third to the value of the imports on the ground that they were rated in the Book of Rates at a third less than their true value. In 1616, after a general debate on trade at the privy council, the farmers of the customs, including John Wostenholme, submitted an account of the imports and exports of London in 1610-11, with the values estimated as in the Book of Rates, except for wine for which an average price was calculated.<sup>1</sup> Wostenholme on another occasion used the figures for London and the outports for 1612-14, and wrote a polemical note comparing his results with those of some unnamed person who had made a similar calculation by a different method, taking freights into account.<sup>2</sup> During the years of depression at the end of James's reign the statesmen and the economists looked increasingly to these calculations. In 1622, when a standing commission of enquiry into economic affairs was set up, its very comprehensive instructions included an order that it should 'diligently observe the true Ballance of Trade of this Kingdom.'<sup>3</sup> Edward Misselden, who published his controversial work, *The Circle of Commerce, or the Ballance of Trade*, in the following year printed in it three specimens of annual balances. The first belongs to the twenty-eighth year of Edward III (1353/4-4/5) and is taken from a manuscript enrolled in the exchequer. The second is Cranfield's, made in 1613-14 for the privy council, and covering the year from Christmas 1612 to Christmas 1613. The third is apparently Misselden's own, from Christmas 1621 to Christmas 1622 and is made by a simple calculation from the receipts of the different branches of the customs.<sup>4</sup>

In 1650 the parliament of the commonwealth set up a standing council of trade which played an important part in determining commercial policy. The sixth article of the commission ran as follows: 'They are to consider of some way, that a most exact Accompt be kept of all Commodities imported and exported through the Land, to the end that a perfect Ballance of Trade may be taken, whereby the Commonwealth may not be impoverished, by receiving of Commodities yearly from Foreign parts, of a greater value, than what was carried out.'<sup>5</sup> The papers of this council were dispersed, so that its work is known to us only from its correspondence with other bodies. It is therefore impossible to say what attempts it made to frame statistics. Although it was not inactive in other ways, it does not appear to have carried this matter very far. At any rate, it made no report on this subject to the council

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council, 1615-16*, p. 479: the date is 9 April 1616.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. MS., Lansdowne 152, fos. 175 ff. (180 in old numeration). Wostenholme's paper is docketed by Sir Julius Cæsar '21 May 1615.' The other endorsement, 'Sir Lionell Cranfield his balance of trade 21 May 1615,' which is said by W. H. Price, in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xx (1905), to be the first use of the phrase 'balance of trade' in England, is neither correct nor contemporary. Bacon uses the phrase in his 'Advice to Sir George Villiers' (1661) written in 1616 (*Letters and Life*, ed. Spedding, vi. 22).

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, *Fœdera*, vii (The Hague, 1742), pt. iv. 11.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 119-20, 121-2, 127-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, ed. Firth and Rait, ii. 404.

of state,<sup>1</sup> perhaps because its time was mainly taken up with preparing for legislation and with advising on particular cases.

It was nearly half a century from this time to the foundation of the statistical office of the inspector-general of exports and imports; but it was during this half-century that the quantitative attitude to economic affairs found its definite and, as we may say, scientific expression in the 'political arithmetic' of Graunt, Petty, and their followers. To the rise of this first rudimentary statistical science many streams of thought contributed, so many that we may call it one of the typical products of the thought of the age. It chimed in well with other tendencies of thought, from philosophical materialism to mercantilist economics. The statesmen, the economists and the leaders of thought and business in general became familiar with it, both from reading books which had a large circulation, and from discussions like those of the Royal Society.<sup>2</sup> It may therefore be assumed that this new phase of educated opinion had something to do with the willingness of politicians to make a better provision for collecting and arranging the figures of commerce. We cannot, indeed, trace a direct connection. None of the earliest writers on political arithmetic seems to have advocated such an advance. Gregory King, who belonged to the second generation of these writers, was employed to make various calculations for the treasury at the time when the decisive step was taken<sup>3</sup>; but there is nothing to connect him with that step, and it is fairly safe to say that he had nothing to do with it. Several years after that step was taken, a writer of genius, John Arbuthnot, stated the case for statistics with great force, and included commercial statistics among its branches; but apparently without knowing that anything of importance was being done for it. The passage is worth quoting: 'Arithmetic is not only the great instrument of private commerce, but by it are (or ought to be) kept the public accounts of a nation; I mean those that regard the whole state of a commonwealth, as to the number, fructification of its people, increase of stock, improvement of lands and manufactures, balance of trade, public revenues, coinage, military power by sea and land, etc. Those that would judge or reason truly about the state of any nation must go that way to work, subjecting all the forementioned particulars to calculation. This is the true political knowledge. In this respect the affairs of a commonwealth differ from those of a private family, only in the greatness and multitude of particulars that make up the accounts. . . . What Sir William Petty and several others of our countrymen have wrote in political arithmetic, does abundantly show the pleasure and usefulness of such speculations. It is true, for want of good information, their calculations

<sup>1</sup> Its reports are entered in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*. In a 'letter of intelligence from Holland' dated 23 September 1653, in *Thurloe State Papers*, i (1742), 498, it is referred to as having become 'merely nominall.'

<sup>2</sup> Though a negative statement of this kind is risky, I think there is nothing of any importance about commercial statistics in the original authorities for the history of the Royal Society down to 1715.

<sup>3</sup> See the bundle of extremely interesting papers called 'Gregory King's Exercises in Political Arithmetic' in the Public Record Office, T. 64/302.

sometimes proceed upon erroneous suppositions; but that is not the fault of the art. But what is it the government could not perform in this way, who have the command of all the public records?'<sup>1</sup>

Although Arbuthnot did not say, and probably did not know, that the English government was already using its command of the public records to provide full figures for the balance of trade, it would be very rash to conclude that its action in doing so was not influenced by the growing belief that the true political knowledge was arithmetical. We cannot trace closely the influence of this belief on the minds of practical politicians, but we must remember that it was at work, and that this was the intellectual background of the commercial policy of the half-century from the Commonwealth to William III.

In the later years of Charles II, statesmen asked for more and better commercial statistics. The important administrative change of 1671, by which most of the customs duties were taken out of the hands of tax-farmers and levied directly by the Crown, made it easier to satisfy these demands. The books kept by the farmers seem indeed to have been as serviceable for this purpose as those of their successors the commissioners; but the Crown could scarcely have imposed this fresh duty upon the private staff of the farmers, whereas it was able to require it, along with other novel kinds of service, as soon as the customs officers were in its own employ. The new demand arose from the growing technical requirements of commercial policy. In the spring of 1673, during the third Dutch war, the council for trade and plantations resolved that when Shaftesbury, the lord chancellor, or Arlington, the secretary of state, was present a 'motion be made to them about putting the account of the Ballance of our Trade into some method of Inquiry and satisfaction.'<sup>2</sup> In the next year there was an abortive negotiation for a commercial treaty with France. The English commissioners for this negotiation were provided by the commissioners of customs with a 'scheme' of English commerce with France for that year, giving the estimated quantities and values of each species of imports and exports.<sup>3</sup> Although it dealt only with one country, this was probably the fullest document of the kind that had down to that time been used for such a purpose. It was accompanied by a note which maintained strongly that the French, from their favourable balance on this trade, enjoyed a one-sided advantage. This opinion gained ground in England in the next few years, and led in 1678 to the Act of Parliament prohibiting imports from France which made a new high-water mark for English protectionism.<sup>4</sup> In the following year the committee

<sup>1</sup> John Arbuthnot, 'Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning' (1701), in *Life and Works*, ed. Aitken (1892), pp. 421-2.

<sup>2</sup> Louise F. Brown, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (1933), p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> *The British Merchant*, i (1721), 181; reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, iv (1748), 537; Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, iv. App. xi.

<sup>4</sup> 29 and 30 Car. II, c. 1 (Statutes of the Realm, v. 852). It appears to have been on this occasion that the scheme of commerce with France in 1674 was introduced into parliament 'by that worthy Patriot, the famous Mr. Sacheverell' (*The British Merchant*, reprint of 1721, ii. 69). Its value and authenticity, impugned by Defoe in his *Mercator*, were defended by *The British Merchant*. See below, p. 19.

of the privy council for trade and plantations applied itself to the matter of trade statistics. From this time each crisis in commercial policy—the economic crisis of 1696, the French commercial treaty of 1713, Walpole's reform of the tariff, Pitt's commercial treaty with France—had its reflection in commercial statistics.

In 1679, indeed, not much was accomplished. The committee of council, through the proper channel of the treasury, asked the commissioners of customs to supply them with certain sets of figures, those they had lately received from the earl of Carlisle, the governor, concerning the trade of Jamaica, and the like for the future,<sup>1</sup> and also figures of English imports and exports 'under the several species.' The commissioners thought, however, that it would be difficult and expensive, if not wholly impracticable to extract this information about all commodities.<sup>2</sup> The records of the customs are defective, and those of the committee for trade and plantations have been dispersed, so that what remains of them has survived only by chance.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore impossible to be sure what was the result; but it seems to have been on this occasion that a small book of tables was drawn up, of which a copy is now in the British Museum.<sup>4</sup> This gives, for the port of London alone, an account of imports and of exports of English growth and manufacture from Michaelmas 1662 to Michaelmas 1663, and also an account of the customs revenue of England from Michaelmas 1676 to Michaelmas 1677. It does not deal with foreign goods re-exported. The tables of exports and imports are arranged by countries, and then, for each country, by species, with quantities, estimates of values, and the amount paid in customs. The plantations are grouped together. There is a summary by countries only, not by commodities. The table of customs revenue is by ports only, including those of the plantations. In 1711 Charles Davenant, then inspector-general of imports and exports, wrote a note at the beginning of this book which deserves attention as an expert opinion, though it must be remembered that he probably knew little about the history of prices and that he was at that time considering the advisability of a new commercial arrangement with France: 'As to the Goods Exported in general they seem fairly valued. But as to the Goods Imported, they are in most Instances over rated, especially the Commodities brought from France. As to the Quantities of the respective Exportations and

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1679-80, p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> In C.O. 389/19, fos. 166-8, are letters relating to several books of the former council of trade in private hands in 1707 which it was suggested the then board of trade should acquire.

<sup>4</sup> Add. MS. 36785, bought on 6 May 1903 in the Crewcombe Court Sale at Sotheby's. This copy has the note by Charles Davenant (see below, pp. 12 ff) dated 'Inspector General's Office, Feb. 1st. 1711': it describes the contents and suggests 1679 as the date of compilation. On 26 January 1698/9, Popple, the secretary to the board of trade, wrote to Lowndes that the board had before it these tables, which had been supplied to the former committee of trade by the commissioners of customs and desired the like accounts for later years (C.O. 389/16, fo. 164). These, however, evidently did not exist. In or about 1702 John Pollexfen, a member of the board of trade, made calculations from a copy of the 1679 manuscript then in the hands of William Blashwayt, clerk to the privy council (C.O. 388/8, E. 31).

Importations, I believe they might be truly extracted from the Customhouse Books.'

This seems to have been an isolated attempt.<sup>1</sup> In 1680 the customs commissioners were ordered to transmit to the committee of trade quarterly accounts of goods imported and exported, but in 1681 this was altered to an order for annual accounts.<sup>2</sup> The plantation accounts were also called for.<sup>3</sup> Whatever accounts were rendered in consequence of these orders do not appear to survive, and it may be doubted whether they ever formed a continuous series. A list of foreign goods re-exported to France from Michaelmas 1686 to Michaelmas 1687 was used by the advocates of freer trade with France in the controversies of 1713; but their opponents, besides alleging that it over-rated the values of goods, threw doubt on the statement that it had been laid before parliament by the commissioners of customs, and it must not be accepted without confirmation as an authentic document of the period to which it relates.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Davenant, *Works*, v. 350-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1679-80, p. 746; 1681-5, p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1681-5, pp. 421-2, 442.

<sup>4</sup> *The British Merchant*, i, at p. 223. The statistics of French trade from Michaelmas 1685 to Michaelmas 1686 laid before parliament in 1713 (*ibid.*, i. 282-304) were prepared by the commissioners of customs for the occasion. The same is true of the return of the quantities of wines imported into London in 1682-9 presented to the previous parliament (*ibid.*; i. 332), and apparently of the return for the trade of London with France from Michaelmas 1668 to Michaelmas 1669 (*ibid.*, ii. 338, 343 ff.), which the customs commissioners in 1713 refused to recognise as authentic.

# THE INSPECTORS-GENERAL OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

## HISTORY OF THE OFFICE

After the Revolution of 1688, conditions changed in several ways, so that the commissioners of customs were no longer able to withstand the demands for more exact figures of the balance of trade. To begin with, there was a revival of protectionism in commercial policy, and a revival of balance of trade doctrine among economists. At the same time the two houses of parliament, which now met every year, and tried in many directions to extend their control over the daily work of government, paid special attention to matters of trade. These two tendencies both gathered strength in the parliamentary session of 1695-6. The war in 1695 had been disastrous to shipping, the state of the currency was causing concern. The king's speech at the opening of parliament recommended the houses to consider 'such laws as may be proper for the advancement of trade'; particularly the East India trade 'lest it should be lost to the nation.'<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately little is known of the course of the discussions in the commons, except that they discussed a well-known project for a parliamentary committee for the control of trade, the constitutional dangers of which caused the government to forestall it by the creation of the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, the old board of trade. This body, which was active and useful until early in the reign of George I, continued to exist, though somewhat diminished in importance, until 1782. Its commission is dated 15 May 1696.<sup>2</sup> Amongst other things it was to 'enquire, examine into, and take an account of the state and condition of the general trade of England, . . . and to enquire into and examine what trades are or may prove hurtful, or are or may be made beneficial, to our Kingdom of England.' The new board was not itself given control of any machinery for producing statistics on these matters, but the machinery was created by the commissioners of customs, and the board from the first made such use of its statistics that there is clearly a connection between the two new administrative creations of this year. There are two references to the collection of official statistics in the *Discourse of Trade, Coyn and Paper-Credit* of the merchant John Pollexfen, who was one of the members of the new board. In one he says that 'a narrow inspection made, in order to discover how the Ballance stands,' in general or with particular countries, may be of great use, though great difficulties may arise in adjusting the

<sup>1</sup> *Lords' Journals*, xv. 599.

<sup>2</sup> Text in *House of Lords Papers*, New Series, ii. 416 ff.

balance, and though no such accounts ought to be depended on as certain and infallible. He says that an account should be taken from the Custom House books of imports and exports, distinguishing those in our own and in foreign bottoms, and allowing for freights.<sup>1</sup> This, he says in the other place, is 'a work that will require Time, and need the help of Authority.'<sup>2</sup> He asks for it only 'for such Years as may be thought convenient.' It thus appears that, although his book bears the date 1697, he did not know that authority had already set up machinery to do this work for every year.

The plan for a new machinery at the Custom House followed directly from the proceedings of a committee of the House of Lords which carried out the recommendation of the king's speech. This does not prove that the initiative came from any of the peers, and it is possible, though there is no direct evidence for it, that William Lowndes, the new and very able secretary of the treasury, was at work behind the scenes. He, at any rate, was interested in the balance of trade. In his famous tract on the currency in 1695 he wrote: 'The above-mentioned *Ballance of Trade* being . . . the Original Cause of the Scarcity of Silver in England, and of the Loss by the Foreign Exchange on Remittances, he that can propose any proper Expedient either to lessen that Ballance, or convert it to our Advantage, ought to be well heard.'<sup>3</sup> This shows that the treasury officials were probably not unwilling to see a better system established for ascertaining how the balance of payments was actually made up.<sup>4</sup>

Early in its proceedings the lords' committee asked the commissioners of customs for a return of imports and exports for the last three years. The commissioners called before them the appropriate officers, who gave discouraging replies about the magnitude of the task. For the imports of the port of London, for instance, they would require the work of not less than twelve able hands for eight or nine months. The regular staff of the customs could not do it. The commissioners offered instead a return of the gross or net yield of the customs, inwards or outwards, on the several species of goods, except for the last year, for which the accounts were not yet made up. The lords, however, insisted, and the commissioners gave orders for the work to be put in hand. They pointed out, however, that the result would not be altogether satisfactory. It would only be approximate, perhaps not within 40 per cent of the real balance of trade. The Book of Rates had only one duty on linen, though linens differed in value from twenty pence to ten shillings the ell; in thread the disparity was even greater, while all wines of the same country, whatever their quality, paid the same duty. A good estimate of the values, therefore, could not be made from the duty paid. The officers had further taken notice that in the past year there had been a greater exporta-

<sup>1</sup> p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> *Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins* (1695), pp. 90-1.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Josiah Child in his *New Discourse of Trade*, of which a second edition was published in 1694, pointed out, at pp. 154-5, that the differences of the customs rating for duties vitiated the calculation of total values by simply multiplying the amounts received in duty.

tion of cloth, baize, lead, tin and other native commodities than had ever been known in England; but this had resulted from the extravagant rate of guineas by which they were bought (or, as we should say, from the depreciation of the pound sterling), and the effect was that the foreign markets were glutted, and until they were cleared we should fall very far short in exporting these commodities. If the quantity of gold brought in were known as exactly as the goods exported, this case was still so exceptional that it would afford no standard for judging the balance of trade in the future. There was another difficulty: the officers of the customs had no other care than the revenue, but the merchant was generally desirous to keep the 'distinction' (the precise nature) and the quantities of his goods from his neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

When the commissioners presented this report to the select committee, their spokesman, Sir Robert Southwell, said that the house of commons had never had such an account of the balance of trade as was now desired. The account made up in 1674<sup>2</sup> related to France only. The desired account could not be had for the time past but might be for the future. After a withdrawal the commissioners were, however, called in again and 'directed to proceed in the work expected of them . . . and that they give as particular account as they can for the time to come, with the least prejudice to the Merchants that may be.'<sup>3</sup>

Rather more than a year later the retrospective return for the three years from Christmas 1692 to Christmas 1695 was in fact rendered.<sup>4</sup> It was accompanied by a table extracted from the General Register of Shipping,<sup>5</sup> to distinguish the proportions of English and foreign shipping which had carried the imports and exports. The covering report also announced the establishment of the new machinery which was to provide a 'perfect and particular' annual balance of trade for the future. The fullest statement of the circumstances in which this decision was taken is in the following document:

Custom house London  
15 July 1696

To the Right Honourable the  
Lords Commissioners of His  
Majesty's Treasury  
Presentment

By the Commissioners for managing and causing to be Leavied and Collected his Majesty's Custom's Subsidies and other Duty's. The Commissioners taking into consideration the Great usefulness of keeping a Distinct accompt of the Importation and Exportation of all Commodities into and Out of this Kingdom; and to and from what places the same are Exported or Imported, In Order to make a Ballance of the Trade between this Kingdome; and any other part of the world, and finding the great Difficulty there is to come at such an Accompt, when at any time called upon for the

<sup>1</sup> The original correspondence in T. 1/36 (see *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1557-1696, p. 484) adds nothing of interest on the subject of this paragraph *House of Lords Papers*, New Ser., ii. 3, 7, 24-9, and *Lords' Journals*, xv, 624, 634.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> *House of Lords Papers*, New Ser., ii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Table of contents, *ibid.*, 419 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. 45 ff.



same, For want of such a method, And particularly being required by the House of Lords in the Last Session of Parliament To lay before that House An Accompt of Three Yeares Exportations and Importations, They were forced to Returne answer from the officers of the Customs That they were not able during the Session To prepare such an Accompt, And although several officers both Inwards and Outwards have been ever since Employed in Collecting the same They have not hitherto been able to go through halfe that work. The Commissioners being also Required by that house, That for the future such an Accompt should be kept of the Importations and Exportations as may answer the Ends aforesaid: And having also Received an Order from his Majesty's Commissioners of Trade and Plantations To send an Accompt of the Importations and Exportations to and from Sweden and Denmark for 14 Years past, which for want of such a method is not without great difficulty to be done, and probably the Like Accompt may be called for, for the Trades to and from other parts. The commissioners are humbly of opinion That as well in obedience to the Commands of the House of Lords, as for the Publick Utility, and that They may be able to answer all exigencies of this kind upon Demand, It may be necessary to have an officer of Skill and Experience in the Custome's to Collect from every day Entrys in the Custome house such a Distributive Accompt as may answer the Ende aforesaid, and also to Digest the Books of the Out Ports into the same Distribution and *method*.<sup>1</sup> And the Commissioners haveing lately Received their Lordships Commands to have it in their Thoughts to find some suitable Employment for Mr. Culliford, whose long Experience and Skill in the business of the Custom's may render him properly qualified for such an undertaking, They humbly propose Mr. Culliford for the said Employment, under the Character of Inspector General of the Exports and Imports, To be assisted with such a number of Clerks, as may enable him to Performe that work, which must be done with Great Exactness and Care, with such allowance of Salary as their Lordships shall think his Merit, and the Nature of So Laborious and Exact a work may Require

ROBERT CLAYTON  
ROBERT SOUTHWELL  
WALTER YONGE  
JA. CHADWICKE  
BEN OVERTON  
SAM CLARKE<sup>2</sup>

To this the treasury agreed, and Culliford's appointment began the continuous history of English trade statistics. The question may be asked whether this decision was in any way influenced by foreign examples. The Dutch, the favourite models for imitation in economic matters at this time, need not be taken into account

<sup>1</sup> In the margin is the signature of Charles Godolphin, for whom see below, p. 48, who presumably underlined the word 'method.'

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O., T. 1/38, fo. 302. This document, unlike the others in the present volume, has been printed with the capital letters as in the original.

here: they kept no statistics of trade, and such were the complications of their federal fiscal system that they scarcely could have done so if they had wished. Perhaps the only western country where the customs system was sufficiently unified and regular to permit the collection of useful general statistics was Sweden, and, though the Swedes do not seem to have made much use of this opportunity, some statistics of the trade of the country and its dependencies were transmitted to England by our diplomatic representatives there in the years 1690-6.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, no evidence that they were ever seen outside the office of the secretaries of state, and their transmission has no bearing on our subject except that it illustrates the prevailing interest in trade figures. There is one small detail of the English innovation of 1696 which may betray French influence: the title of the inspector-general of imports and exports seems to be the first instance in England of the name 'inspector' as an official title, and it may well echo the French: Jacques Savary became inspector-general of manufactures and commerce about ten years earlier. Apart from this, however, French example contributed nothing; indeed the borrowing was the other way, and the story of the French attempts illustrates the contrast between the French and English economic systems. It has often been remarked that from the earliest days of that idea, the balance of trade was regarded in England more than in any other country as a matter of actual figures.

The claim has indeed been made that the 'cabinet de politique et de finance' organised by Sully in 1602 was the first attempt at a central bureau of statistics; and it may well be true that Richelieu and Colbert were following his example when they demanded comprehensive and detailed reports on industries and finance.<sup>2</sup> An isolated seventeenth-century document survives which gives estimates of imports and of wines exported by the Garonne, Charente and Loire for 1669, 1671, 1672 and 1683, but without their values or the places of origin or destination.<sup>3</sup> There is also a private table of trade with England for 1686.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, extremely improbable that these estimates were of much value. The existence of separate tariffs for different parts of France even after the reforms of Colbert made national trade statistics impossible. In 1693 Pontchartrain asked that detailed tables of imports and exports might be drawn up, and gave orders that the agents of the farmers of the customs should send in the materials. Nothing of importance seems, however, to have resulted from this, and in the negotiations for the commercial treaty of Utrecht the French found themselves at a disadvantage in dealing with the English,

<sup>1</sup> See G. N. Clark, *The Dutch Alliance and the War against French Trade* (1923), App. IV. For the Danish figures of the Sound-toll see below, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> G. Pallain, *Les douanes françaises* (1897), i. 726-8.

<sup>3</sup> Lohmann, p. 876.

<sup>4</sup> A. M. Arnould, *De la balance du commerce, 1716-88* (1791), vol. iii. The figures in this table differ very widely from the English figures for the same year referred to on p. xvi, n. 4 above. Arnould was 'sous-directeur du bureau de la balance du commerce' after its regeneration by Necker in 1781, and his tables, though not continuous, are very useful for French eighteenth-century commerce. c

who came equipped with full official statistics. In order to regulate the questions left undecided by the treaty, the French government created a department to prepare statistical tables from information supplied by the customs. So long as the French East India Company existed, the bureau did not directly prepare statistics of its trade; but with this exception its work was similar to that of the English department. From 1716 it even published annual abstracts of its figures. Its working seems on the whole to have been satisfactory, and it put France on a level with England in this matter.<sup>1</sup> Some other countries seem to have followed the example of England and France in the course of the eighteenth century. The collecting of commercial statistics was congenial to the enlightened despotism of the time; and it is therefore the more interesting to remember that it was first successfully practised in parliamentary England.

William Culliford's appointment to the new office turned out thoroughly well. He was not a showy man; he never wrote a book, so far as we know he had no economic theories, and he is not mentioned in the biographical dictionaries. His qualities were, however, those which were needed for organising a statistical department: he knew the system of the customs thoroughly, he was diligent, accurate and punctual. His service in the customs began in about 1664, and the most exciting moment of it was twenty years later when, on his way to Ireland, he was shot at and wounded with two bullets by a discharged customs officer who had a grievance. In 1694, however, the commissioners of customs reported, not for the first time, that the office of surveyor-general, which he then held, was unnecessary and burdensome; so at this time he was available for a fresh employment. The lords of the treasury recommended him for the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Patience Ward, a commissioner of customs, but the king decided not to fill it, and so in the same month Culliford became the first inspector-general of exports and imports.<sup>2</sup> He held the position until 1702 when he got his reward by being at last appointed a commissioner of customs.<sup>3</sup>

As inspector-general he was instructed by the customs commissioners 'to make and keep a particular, distinct, and true account of the importacions and exportacions of all comodities into and out of this kingdome, and to and from what places the same are exported or imported, and out of the said account once in every yeare and as often as he shalbe thereto required by us or any three or more

<sup>1</sup> Arnould, ii. 122, supplemented by Pallain, ii. 313 ff., Necker, *Administration des finances de la France*, ii (1785). 127. For the later history of the bureau see F. Faure in *History of Statistics*, ed. J. Koren (1918), p. 268. E. Levasseur, *Hist. du commerce de la France* (1911), i. 509, follows Lohmann.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1557-1696, pp. 34, 37-9, 63, 527-8, 531.

<sup>3</sup> He died on 5 September 1719 (*Musgrave's Obituary*). According to Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, iv (1857), 106, he was identical with the William Culliford who sat as a member of parliament for Corfe Castle, was unseated on petition in 1698, and was concerned in naval affairs. For further biographical details see other references in Luttrell and *A Short and True State of the Case relating to the Election for the Borough of Corfe Castle* (1698). William Culliford, junior, probably the son of this William, was in 1703 appointed landwaiter at Poole and, in 1705, landwaiter in the port of London (T. II/14, pp. 257, 368).

of us, or by the lord high treasurer or any three or more of the commissioners of the treasury for the time being, make and present a faire and exact scheme of the ballance of trade (as it then stands) between England and any other part of the world, and the said William Culliford is hereby required to observe and follow such rules, orders, methods and direcions as he shall receive from ' the same authorities.<sup>1</sup> This form of words was followed in the ' Constitutions ' of his successors throughout the eighteenth century ; but for them the commissioners of trade or any three of them were added to the customs and the treasury as entitled to call for returns and to give instructions. The only addition to the duties imposed in the later Constitutions was ' a further direcion to take an account upon what shipping such exports and imports are made, ' that is whether in English or foreign ships,<sup>2</sup> a duty which, as we shall see Culliford in fact discharged, though not explicitly called upon to do so. The lords of the treasury instructed the customs commissioners to give such directions as were needed to enable the inspector-general to perform the service required, in particular to provide him with a convenient place in or near the Custom House for his office, and to direct the copying clerk of the warrants in the port of London as well inwards as outwards to deliver to him every day a bill or copy of every entry that passed.<sup>3</sup>

Culliford was given a salary of £500 a year, and £200 a year for four clerks, namely £60 for his chief clerk, £50 apiece for two others and £40 for the fourth.<sup>4</sup> No additions were made to these sums during his term of office except a temporary £100 for two additional clerks at £60 and £40 in 1699-1700.<sup>5</sup> The principles on which he organised the work of the office were sound and simple. It had nothing to do except to prepare statistics and, on rare occasions, reports based upon them. The statistical documents, which we shall examine more minutely later, were of two kinds. First there were the inspector-general's ledgers. These were great folio volumes, one for each year, in which were recorded the imports and exports, arranged under the names of the countries with which the business was done and classified in a long list of commodities. The values were totalled, and by subtraction the general balance of trade and the particular balance for each country were given. The ledgers thus contain in the fullest detail all the facts collected by the office, with those elementary calculations from them which were believed to throw light on the state of trade. For each year several copies of the ledger were prepared, one of which was sent

<sup>1</sup> His Constitution, 11 September 1696, in T. 11/13, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Davenant's Constitution, T. 11/14, p. 271, and those of his successors, for which see below.

<sup>3</sup> 11 September 1696, in T. 11/13, p. 294. A warrant of 11 November 1715 ordered a payment of £10 a year to a clerk in the customs for copying the bills of entry outwards, and this payment continued until at least as late as 1781 (T. 42/4B).

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1557-1696, p. 528. This arrangement was made shortly after he entered on his office: the original intention was that he should have one clerk at £80 and two at £60. He had to pay land-tax on these salaries, but on 28 December 1700 this was refunded by the treasury (*House of Lords Papers*, New Ser., v. 97-8).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

to the board of trade, while a second went to the treasury, and the others remained in the office where they were prepared.

It is unfortunately impossible to be sure how many sets of these ledgers there were at any given time. The minutes of the board of customs were destroyed by the fire at the Custom House in 1814, and the only scraps of them that survive there are those included in a series of volumes compiled from other sources and presented to the board by the then first commissioner, Sir William Musgrave. These are entitled 'Notes and Extracts from the Minutes and Orders issued by the Commissioners of the Customs for the Instruction and Government of their Officers.' From them we find that on 17 January 1728/9 the inspector-general was instructed to prepare a ledger for the board of trade, but this seems to relate to a single year's ledger, since the practice of supplying a copy to the board of trade went back to 1696. On 23 September 1732 the inspector-general was ordered 'to send duplicates of all accounts prepared by him into the secretary's office for the use of the board' of customs; but, no doubt because of the disproportionate labour involved in making a new copy for another room in the same building, he was on 6 October following 'excused from complying with the above minute.' On 25 February 1742/3 he 'is not to carry up any accompts to parliament or to the treasury, without first laying the same before the board and receiving their directions.' We do not know the reason for this order, nor for that of 5 April 1744 in which it is reiterated, and extended to the rendering of accounts 'to any officer or other person whatsoever.'<sup>1</sup>

An annual abstract of the ledgers was submitted to parliament. With this exception all the other documents prepared in the office were prepared not, like the ledgers, as a matter of routine but in obedience to particular orders or requests from public authorities which wished to be informed about trade with a particular country or trade in one or more particular commodities. These authorities were the two houses of parliament, the board of trade and the treasury. The returns varied in length from a single page to a substantial fascicule. The bodies to which they were submitted sometimes incorporated the information in reasoned reports, so that their contents are sometimes more easily accessible in this later form. Those which were retrospective were extracted from the ledgers; others, dealing with current figures, were sometimes wanted before the ledgers were made up and so had to be compiled from the materials collected in the office for posting to the ledgers; but, as all the facts ultimately found their way into the ledgers, it remains true that those great bound volumes contain all the official statistical information we have about imports and exports.

The arrangement of Culliford's ledgers requires explanation and discussion: it has often been misunderstood. It is based on the arrangement of the *Book of Rates* used by the customs officers for determining the duty to be paid on each article, but with important differences which sometimes escape notice. The *Book of Rates* in

<sup>1</sup> All these orders are given under the heading 'Inspector of Exports and Imports' in the Notes and Extracts, which are arranged alphabetically under the titles of the officers concerned: these are all in vol. i.

force in 1696 was a schedule to an Act of Parliament.<sup>1</sup> The customs duties had grown up from the ancient tunnage and poundage, tunnage having long since been fixed as a duty of three shillings on every tun of imported wine, poundage as a duty of twelve pence in the pound sterling, or 5 per cent, on the value of other goods imported. In order that this may be calculated the book gives a list of commodities in alphabetical order (some singly and some in groups according to their nature), with another column stating at what value a given tale, weight or measure of that commodity is to be rated. The figures in pounds, shillings and pence are thus not the amounts of duty to be paid but are estimated or conventional values of the commodities. There is a further provision that goods not rated in the table are to pay their 5 per cent 'according to the value and price of such goods to be affirmed upon the oath of the merchant' who imports them. After the list are twenty-seven rules for its application. It is clear from these rules that there was room for much irregularity, and that the calculation of the amounts of duty to be paid was far from scientific exactness.

In following this model, or rather the Customs Accounts which followed it, the first change Culliford made was necessitated by the desire to know the particular balance of trade with each foreign country. He put down the imports and exports under countries, arranging the countries alphabetically. He gave first the trade of London with all countries, then that of the out-ports; so that the first entries in his ledger for 1699-1700<sup>2</sup> run thus:

Where Imported and from Whence.	Foreign Merchandise.	In English Ships.	In Foreign Ships.	Estimate of the First Cost or Value.	Amount of the Value.
To London from Africa	Copper unwrought	cwt. qr. lb. 616 1 20	.....	At £3 10s. to £4 per cwt.	£ 23 11 s. 12 d. 1½
	Drugs: — Almonds, bitter	336 3 20	.....	At £2 to £3 per cwt.	9 17 6 5½
	Gum Arabeck	45 0 0	.....	At 34s. to 44s. per cwt.	87 15 0
	Gum Sandrake	324 1 23	.....	At 26s. to 30s. per cwt.	454 4 9

<sup>1</sup> 12 Car. II, c. 4. The text of the schedule is in *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 184 ff., and in the separately printed *Book of Rates*, of which there were editions in 1660, 1671, 1675 and 1684. The abstract in H. Hall, *History of the Customs Revenue of England* (1892), p. 249, has the column of values mistakenly headed 'Custom.' After 1699 the customs officers in practice used more convenient unofficial manuals, for a list and criticism of which see the best of them, H. Saxby, *The British Customs* (1757). It appears from the *British Museum Catalogue* and the book itself that Saxby (p. vii) gives 1689 by mistake for 1699 as the date of R. Score, *Guide to the Customs and Collector's Clerks*.

<sup>2</sup> Customs 3/4.

After the goods so entered for each country came 'Goods at Value', that is goods of which the value is calculated not by a rate stated in the fifth column but by the merchant's sworn declaration.

The alphabetical lists of commodities in the second column follow those of the *Book of Rates*; and so closely did Culliford copy the arrangement of the older customs records that in the first of all his ledgers he included a column, afterwards dropped as irrelevant to his purpose, giving the amounts of the subsidy, new subsidy, and additional subsidy payable.<sup>1</sup> This similarity of arrangement, however, conceals an innovation in method. The fifth column does not reproduce the values of the *Book of Rates*. It was indeed notorious in 1696 that the existing customs rating was obsolete. The prices of goods had changed so much in thirty-six years that they bore no relation to the conventional values on which duties were paid. The new board of trade soon began to press for a new book of rates.<sup>2</sup> For the new statistics therefore the old list was useless, and the list in Culliford's fifth column is quite new. It differs from the customs list in various ways. First, whereas the *Book of Rates* always gives one definite value, the new list frequently gives, as in the example quoted above, two limits of value. Second, many of the values are different. It would be hard to characterise the differences in a simple formula. Out of sixty-three identical items taken at random from the two lists, only eight have the same valuation, counting Culliford's as the same if he sets limits within which the old valuation falls. Of the remainder his values for thirty-four are higher, for twenty-one lower.

From this it is clear that there was either a radical revision of the old list or an altogether new one. Unfortunately we do not know exactly how or by whom the new list was made. Culliford's successor wrote that his 'worthy predecessor' . . . 'set a valuation upon all the respective goods . . . by the judgment of the ablest foreign merchants.'<sup>3</sup> If this is true we may speculate whether the merchants tried to reach a true estimate of the first cost of exports in England or of imports in their countries of origin. They may have been biased by their own interests; they may not have wished to reveal the excessive lowness of the valuations in the *Book of Rates*; but whether they wanted low duties on imports or high must have depended on the kind of business they did. As we do not know who they were, or how far Culliford followed their advice, it is impossible to say, without an elaborate comparison of other sources, how far the new list of values truly represented the prices ruling in 1696.

The most remarkable fact about this list of values is that it did not altogether disappear from current use until the year 1870. Many historical writers have indeed stated that it continued in use unaltered from 1694 to 1870; but that is an error.<sup>4</sup> We shall

<sup>1</sup> Customs 3/1.

<sup>2</sup> C.O. 388/7, Bundle B, no. 29; *House of Lords Papers*, New Ser., iv. 456.

<sup>3</sup> Davenant, *Works* (1771), v. 350.

<sup>4</sup> The error seems to originate with the statement of D. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, iii (1805), p. 340, which is repeated by S. Bourne in *Trans. Statistical Soc.*, vol. xxxv (1872), in an article reprinted in *Trade, Population and Food* (1880), p. 17.

see that the fossilisation of the list was a gradual process. It was partly due to changes in the customs system, and when it had gone far enough to attract attention there was a change in economic ideas which caused it to be tolerated. At the outset there cannot have been the slightest intention of allowing the list to be retained without any adjustment to future changes in actual prices. It must indeed be remembered that at that time the fluctuations of prices had been studied very little or not at all; conceptions of price-history were only beginning to assume a definite form.<sup>1</sup> But the circumstances in which the official values of imports and exports were estimated absolutely rule out the possibility that Culliford and his advisers expected prices to remain as they were. Price-currents were already regularly used in business.<sup>2</sup> Customs officers with experience of declared values knew that they constantly changed. The very reason why the new list of official values had to be made was that the list in the *Book of Rates* was out of date.

We find accordingly that Culliford as part of the routine of his office made changes from one year to another in the values of some of the commodities. Neither of his two immediate successors seems to have been aware of this.<sup>3</sup> His figures have always been used as though he gave up the attempt to compute the actual money values and balances of trade and gave only, as was done later when the list of values became permanently fixed, what would have been the money figures for the goods actually imported and exported if there had been no change of prices. For the modern student the change of practice in this respect is important. It was tantamount to a change in the purpose of the statistics. In this first stage the third and fourth columns, those of quantities of goods, represent ascertained facts; the fifth column a variable multiplier, and the sixth the product of the two. It is thus always possible to compare the quantities of a given commodity exported or imported in different years from the third and fourth columns, but not in all cases from the sixth, nor, consequently, in the total at the end of the sixth. The sixth column has, however, sometimes been used for this purpose. As we shall see, the abstracts presented to parliament were expressed simply in money and not in terms of commodities. They were therefore ultimately derived from the sixth column. Whatever their value was for indicating the financial aspect of trade, they had clearly much less value as indices of the bulk of imports and exports in goods.

A few other points in Culliford's work call for notice. His first ledger begins with Michaelmas 1696, and for the first two years he went by the dates then used for the general account of the customs and that of the cashier of the customs, which was also the exchequer financial year, Michaelmas to Michaelmas or

<sup>1</sup> See my note 'The Occasion of Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*' in *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton* (1937), Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> The London Price Currents from Michaelmas 1676 were used in the controversy over commercial statistics in 1713 (*British Merchant*, i. 184), but publications of the kind were known some years before 1676.

<sup>3</sup> Davenant, *loc. cit.*; Martyn's 'Observations,' p. 63 below.



29 September to 28 September. The use of this year was, however, anomalous in the customs. Early in the seventeenth century it was followed for the new impositions which were not farmed, and for the auditing of the customs accounts in the exchequer; but for other purposes, that is for the farmed taxes, the customs year ran from 25 December to 24 December.<sup>1</sup> The last general farm of the customs was determined at Michaelmas 1671, so that from that date the Michaelmas year was used for the general account and the cashier's accounts. After the Revolution of 1688, however, when the Customs were granted annually by parliament, the year ran from Christmas to Christmas<sup>2</sup> and, as the yearly accounts transmitted to the exchequer by the patent officer of the customs also began and ended by ancient usage at Christmas, the commissioners of customs asked the leave of the treasury to keep all their accounts by that year. This the treasury authorised in March 1697/8,<sup>3</sup> and in order to conform to this change Culliford made up his ledger from Michaelmas to Christmas 1698 and then changed over to the customs year, Christmas to Christmas, which was followed by his office throughout the eighteenth century. In one manuscript<sup>4</sup> the imports, but not the exports, for the first year 1696-7 are given in two half-years, divided at Lady Day; but there does not seem to be any means of converting the first two years to the customs year of Christmas to Christmas without doing even more work than Culliford and his staff did at the time.

During his term of office, which saw the end of one war and the beginning of another, a number of new duties were imposed for purposes of revenue, but there was no general revision of the tariff and no great change in tariff policy. At the peace negotiations of Ryswick there was talk of a commercial treaty with France, and Culliford had to send the board of trade such figures of French commerce as he could give; but the negotiations came to nothing, and he submitted no memorandum.<sup>5</sup> He does not appear ever to have expressed opinions on tariff policy or to have gone outside his purely statistical functions.

In June 1703 Culliford was succeeded by a man of altogether different type, Charles Davenant, the well-known economic writer.<sup>6</sup> He was the eldest son of the dramatist, Sir William D'Avenant. He wrote plays himself; he sat in parliament under James II and William III; he was an LL.D., though of what university is not known. It is said not to have been Oxford, where he was an undergraduate at Balliol. Various links had drawn him into contact with economic affairs. From 1678 to 1689 he was a com-

<sup>1</sup> Astrid Friis, *Alderman Cockayne's Project*, p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> This begins with 1 W. & M., c. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *House of Lords Papers*, New Ser., v. 74, 95-6.

<sup>4</sup> That at the Custom House: see below, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> C.O. 389/15, fos. 234 ff., 254 ff., 302 ff.; 389/16, fo. 164. I have dealt with the Ryswick negotiations (in English) in *Verslag van het Historisch Genootschap* (1932), pp. 12-13.

<sup>6</sup> His Constitution is in T. 11/14, p. 271. There are notices of him in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* and *Dict. of Pol. Econ.* For discussions of his economic works see Y. Ballière, *L'Œuvre de Charles Davenant* (1913) and W. Casper, *Charles Davenant* (1930).

missioner of excise ; but after the Revolution he was out of office.<sup>1</sup> He was a cousin of the whig merchant Sir Charles Peers, a director of the New East India Company since 1701 ;<sup>2</sup> perhaps this helps to account for his publishing in 1697 an *Essay on the East India Trade*. Like other writers on the same side he was one of the precursors of free-trade doctrine.<sup>3</sup> His *Political and Commercial Works* were reissued in five volumes by Sir Charles Whitworth in 1771, five years before Adam Smith published the *Wealth of Nations*. They enjoyed a high reputation ; no doubt they influenced Adam Smith<sup>4</sup> and historians still make much use of them. They were written at intervals from 1695, and they showed both knowledge and acuteness. Davenant's weak point as a political writer was that he was in opposition to government while he had no place, but when he got his new office in 1704 he ceased to be a party man and supported the administration. Macpherson, the historian of commerce, called him quite simply 'the able but venal Davenant.' In spite of this, he may well have appeared admirably qualified for the work. It was, however, perhaps not for this reason that the payment for himself and his clerks was raised to £1200.<sup>5</sup> This additional expenditure seems more likely to take into account the literary services which Davenant might be expected to render, and did in fact render to the government. If so it was not the only instance in Queen Anne's reign of the buying over of an official pamphleteer. It marks the tendency, which went to fantastic lengths in the eighteenth century, to use offices in the customs as political rewards. What is more to our purpose, it marks the beginning of political interference with the office of the inspector-general, which from this time until early in the reign of George II took an increasingly prominent place in public controversy.

During his early years in office Davenant seems to have been ambitious to act as economic adviser to any authority that was willing to listen to his advice. He was sometimes summoned to present his returns in person to the board of trade, and on these appearances he gave oral explanations. In 1705 he presented to

<sup>1</sup> If Antony Wood (*Life and Times*, iii. 451) is right in saying that in 1694 Davenant was made surveyor-general of the duty on salt, he seems to have held the appointment for a very short time. Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, 27 June 1696, says that he then had a grant to be surveyor-general of the excise.

<sup>2</sup> The present Sir Charles Peers kindly informs me that this is proved by the family correspondence at Chiselhampton near Oxford, where there is also a portrait of Davenant in his doctor's robes. For the career of the former Sir Charles Peers see A. B. Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, ii (1913). 121.

<sup>3</sup> See Sir William Ashley, 'The Tory Origin of Free Trade Policy,' in *Surveys, Historic and Economic* (19).

<sup>4</sup> He possessed a copy ; but the direct allusions in *The Wealth of Nations* are not to matters of foreign trade : *Catalogue of Adam Smith's Library*, ed. J. Bonar, 2nd ed. (1932), p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> J. Chamberlayne, *Anglicæ Notitia*, 21st ed. (1704). In the 22nd ed. (1708) this is given as £1000 for himself and £200 for six clerks. In 1713, writing in his own defence, Davenant said that his salary of £1000 was 'all the amends I have for a stated principal debt owing to me from the Crown of £13,000' (to commissioners of customs, 14 August 1713 : see below, p. 19, n.1).

the board unasked a report on Dutch trade, especially with France, which he had drawn up for Lord Treasurer Godolphin after a visit to Holland, which also appears to have been made at his own suggestion.<sup>1</sup> The same desire to put himself forward may explain the fact that one of his reports was presented to the commissioners of public accounts, a body which does not seem to have been properly concerned with matters of trade, and does not appear to have had any other dealings with the inspectors-general. He acted in obedience to its precept, but it is possible that the precept was issued at his own suggestion.

Davenant did not, as it turned out, carry on the routine work of his office so smoothly and efficiently as Culliford. He does not appear to have enjoyed doing calculations for himself, and his economic writings contain little serious work of that kind. There survives a letter from him to the statistician Gregory King, which although it was written at a time when, as we shall see, Davenant was very busy, looks like the work of a lazy man. He dates the letter 17 November 1710 'my birth day.' He sends the Mint Roll and asks King to extract from it the gold and silver coined in 1659-88 and 1688-1710 distinguishing the recoinage. 'I must needs add this requires hast and will take up little time. Your most affectionate servant.'<sup>2</sup> Davenant certainly missed one opportunity of making his office more useful. While he was there, the Union with Scotland occurred, and he might well have done what the general register of shipping did by arranging to have his work extended to cover the whole of Great Britain.<sup>3</sup> He failed to do so, with the result that no Scottish figures were deposited with the inspectors-general before those of 1761.<sup>4</sup> Even if he shirked effort, Davenant had large ideas. As soon as he was appointed, he told Lord Treasurer Godolphin 'that the sum of £200 per annum allowed for clerks was not a sufficient encouragement for those already employed, nor for the hands necessary for the due execution of my trust, and to render the office of use and benefit to the public.' Godolphin in reply told Davenant to raise the matter again when he had been in the actual exercise of the business and saw what was needful. In 1704 Davenant put in a memorandum in which he said that it would be of infinite advantage for the government to have a full view of the posture of trade for the previous twenty-five years, especially in relation to shipping, fisheries, the woollen manufacture, the Baltic and East India trades. For this purpose he asked for an additional £300 which he proposed to spend by arranging the salaries of his clerks (see table opposite).

That is nine clerks altogether, of whom the best-paid was to be one of his own family. As we know that Davenant was heavily in debt,<sup>5</sup> it may be doubted whether he was considering only the public interest.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations*, 17 December 1705. The report is in C.O. 389/18, fo. 503.

<sup>2</sup> With King's table in answer to it in T. 64/302.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Accounts and Papers*, 1787, xix. 425.

<sup>5</sup> E. L. Harvey, 'The Letters and Accounts of James Brydges, 1705-13,' in *Huntington Library Bulletin*, no. 2 (1931), p. 145.

Mr. George Davenant	.	.	.	.	.	£100	0	0
Mr. John Leaves	.	.	.	.	.	80	0	0
Mr. Walter Cox	.	.	.	.	.	60	0	0
Mr. Samuel Gellibrand	.	.	.	.	.	50	0	0
Mr. Joseph Bicknell	.	.	.	.	.	50	0	0
Mr. Samuel Short	.	.	.	.	.	50	0	0
Mr. Amos Stocker	.	.	.	.	.	40	0	0
Mr. James Mathison	.	.	.	.	.	40	0	0
Mr. Francis Lunn	.	.	.	.	.	30	0	0
						<hr/>		
						£500	0	0

Godolphin, as was proper, referred this request to the commissioners of customs, and they, as was natural since Culliford was one of their number, advised against it. They pointed out that for nearly seven years the work of the office had been ' (for ought appears to us) satisfactory ' at a total expense of about £460 a year ; that Davenant's ' establishment ' had already been increased by £500. They could not advise the laying of so great a charge upon an appropriated fund in which the revenue—their own main business—was not immediately concerned.<sup>1</sup>

Davenant referred to this refusal seven years later : ' There is no blame lies on me if this honourable board <sup>2</sup> does not find these accounts in that exactness which my natural curiosity leads me to reduce them . . . if I had been assisted with more hands, you should by this time, have had an ampler history of our foreign trade.' <sup>3</sup> In the meantime he had found reasons for abandoning one of the main operations carried out by Culliford. He began by following his predecessor's methods, though, to judge from his own words, his adjustment of the official values to changes of price probably became less regular and thorough. He wrote that Culliford set a valuation on goods, saying nothing about the subsequent modifications in it, and proceeding ' to which valuation I have kept, excepting in instances where there has been some apparent <sup>4</sup> change ; and upon examination it will be found, that both of us have come as near the truth as things of this nature can well be brought.' He detected, however, a very serious source of error in the figures. An Act of William III had freed all exports of woollen manufactures from duty from 30 March 1700.<sup>5</sup> ' From the time these outward duties were taken off, the merchants have made their entries at pleasure, as well in the out-ports as in London, but generally they have entered greater quantities than were really exported, to carry on some mystery of trade, which, though it might prove of advantage to a few persons here and there, could never be profitable to the publick, in regard it must beget uncertainty in foreign markets, and sometime occasion a want, and sometimes an overplus of those goods, and it results at last in a trick of the exporters to deceive one another, at which they would not venture

<sup>1</sup> Davenant's Memorial of 11 May 1704 and Report on it by the commissioners of customs, 12 September 1704 in T. 1/91 (see *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1702-7, p. 294).

<sup>2</sup> The commissioners of accounts.

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, v. 448.

<sup>4</sup> In the sense of ' evident.'

<sup>5</sup> 11 W. III, c. 20. The Act also applies to corn, grain, bread, biscuit and meal.

when the commodities had such a duty upon them as the merchant could not afford to play with ; but to what value those over-entries might amount is not to be computed, for the proper officers, receiving no duties from thence, keep no perfect register as I can find, and large entries are frequently made, when perhaps less quantities are shipped off, which indeed are marked in the body of the coquets by the queen's searchers, but no distinct account thereof is kept ; so that, in free goods, it is impossible for me to check, or correct, by the searchers' books, the entries brought up to my office.<sup>1</sup>

As woollen manufactures were by far the most important article of export, this threw out all Davenant's figures. There is no reason to doubt the reality of the difficulty. Davenant tried to get a clause 'to oblige the merchants to a certain and regular entry of those commodities,' and it was 'very much insisted on in the house of commons,' by William Lowndes, the secretary of the treasury. The merchants, however, opposed it, and it did not pass.<sup>2</sup> It is curious to notice that the same difficulty recurred when Walpole did away with the remaining export duties, and again when general free trade came in the nineteenth century. In 1721 goods of British manufacture were exempted from export duties.<sup>3</sup> A report of the board of trade to the lords justices in the same year marked a growth of interest in the plantation trade, which was also encouraged by the same and another statute.<sup>4</sup> We are told on good authority that from that time there arose 'a kind of conspiracy, to degrade every other branch of traffic in order to exalt that of the colonies,' and that there was a new temptation to make fictitious entries at the customs.<sup>5</sup> In 1860 small customs charges were laid for statistical purposes only. Mr. Gladstone, as chancellor of the exchequer, explained that before that time the export statistics were 'notoriously and grossly inaccurate ; there was no adequate motive furnished to the executive to secure any approximation to the truth.' An officer of the statistical department of the board of trade, it is true, did not agree that the charges imposed in 1860 improved the statistics : his department had no reason to think otherwise than that the earlier figures were sufficiently accurate for mercantile purposes. But the surveyor-general of customs said, 'I have heard of instances in which persons have entered quantities of goods which they never intended to ship, having the idea that other merchants might be induced to suppose that the market was glutted.'<sup>6</sup>

Having failed to get a penalty for false entries, Davenant made the merchants' deceptions an excuse for relieving himself of part of his work. He suspected that there were other instances, besides

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, v. 443 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, and Davenant's letter to Lowndes, 4 April 1712, in T. 1/146 (see *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1708-14, p. 374 and below p. 57).

<sup>3</sup> 8 Geo. I, c. 15.

<sup>4</sup> 8 Geo. I, c. 12.

<sup>5</sup> G. Chalmers, *Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*, ii (1845). 39-41 ; see also p. 91 below, for what was perhaps Chalmers's authority.

<sup>6</sup> House of Commons, Sessional Papers, xii (*Reports of Committees* (7), 1862), pp. 3, 29-30, 35, 38, 81.

woollen manufactures, where the entries were more than the amounts shipped off; he reflected that the number of clerks allowed to him had never been enough to check entries with the searchers' books, he convinced himself that this had been one of his reasons for asking for a larger establishment.<sup>1</sup> In 1711 he wrote: 'As to the valuations upon the respective commodities, I have therein followed my worthy predecessor, but have been long inclined to think that some of our own native products have been over-valued, and that the time has made some alteration in the price of foreign commodities; for which reason I have not posted my ledgers for these last four years, contenting myself with registering all the entries of imports and exports in quarterly books,<sup>2</sup> to which I can have recourse, and from whence I can extract accounts upon all occasions, still expecting that peace would fix a more certain price upon all commodities, as well foreign as of home growth, exported and imported.'<sup>3</sup>

On one question of valuation Davenant had a difference of opinion with the commissioners of customs. He had arrived at a much lower estimate than theirs of the average price of the Dutch linens imported into the kingdom. The commissioners' estimate was meant to give the value in England, and Davenant's the first cost in the country of origin. The commissioners also gave a number of other arguments against him in a presentment to the lord treasurer which throws light on various aspects of the linen trade and of commercial policy.<sup>4</sup> For our present purpose it is interesting in two ways. First, it proves that all estimates of average prices at that time were conjectural. Secondly it proves in particular that when a duty was rated *ad valorem* and not at so much on each quantity of goods, the merchants could enter their goods at far less than their value. A parcel of goods entered at £800 had been sold for £3000; goods valued at 2*d.* a hundred had been sold in great quantities at 35*s.* For the commissioners this was an argument against *ad valorem* duties; for us it is a warning that the inspector-general's books are probably very far wrong in their figures for all goods rated on the merchant's declaration and not in the list of official values.

Davenant explained openly, as we have seen, in 1711 that he was doing only that part of his routine work which was already done elsewhere. One of the reasons by which he justified this, the expectation that peace would fix a more certain price for commodities, shows that he knew and understood little about the movements of prices; but for the time being his admission caused no trouble. When the official peace-negotiations came on, however, they affected him in a different way. The tory government set to work on commercial treaties with France and Spain which were to remodel the main lines of tariff policy. In April 1713 the French commercial treaty was signed, and in May there began a vociferous controversy in parliament and outside. In pamphlets and in newspapers created for the purpose, whigs and tories and tories who were opposed to the concessions to France, fought over the tariff

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, v. 447 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, v. 448 f.

<sup>2</sup> These do not appear to be extant.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 59.

clauses, and this controversy was the first of its kind in which commercial statistics played a part. On the government side Defoe's *Mercator* maintained, with the aid of such figures as were available for the periods before and during the long trade rivalry which began under Charles II, that the French trade was profitable. The whigs set up *The British Merchant*, which was reprinted in a 'methodised' form in three volumes in 1721 and long served as a text-book of mercantilist economics. We have had occasion to notice already how these two rival sets of journalists pitted against one another various returns and 'schemes' of trade with France and other countries, and disputed over the methods of valuation used in them. In June 1713 the commons rejected the tariff clauses but there was still the Spanish treaty to discuss. The controversy went on into the next summer. It was marked by notable contributions to economic thought, and not the least notable was the establishing of commercial statistics in the central position which they have occupied ever since.

For this result Davenant's own use of them in his published pamphlets of the preceding years had prepared the way; but the crisis caught him still uncomfortably behindhand with his office-work. In July 1713 the commissioners of customs ordered him to report how far his ledgers had been brought up, and to lose no time in completing them. He repeated his excuses, and said that the ledgers were complete in quality and quantity to Christmas 1709; in eight months at the furthest they would be completed to Christmas 1712. If the board wished it he would even in twelve months from that day, cast up the values 'according to the truest valuations I can be able at this time to procure.' But he had not hands enough, nor could he get the necessary work performed if he were not himself out of pocket from time to time.<sup>1</sup> The commissioners directed him to have his ledgers posted as to quality and quantity against the next session of parliament, early in the coming year, and for this purpose they allowed him 'two extraordinary hands' until Christmas; but they were not satisfied. A month later an enquiry came down to them from Lowndes, who asked on behalf of the lord treasurer how far Davenant had brought up his books and, ominously, what was the annual expense of his office. The commissioners passed on the letter to Davenant. He protested that he had never failed to comply with any demands made upon him by the treasury, the house of lords, the house of commons, or the commissioners themselves. With the two new clerks, his whole accounts would be made up when parliament met early in the next year. It would have been done long before but for all the special returns that had been called for 'which has run me into the present arrear, but I shall easily overcome it.'

The commissioners were not convinced. In forwarding Davenant's replies to the treasury they stuck to their old view: 'We must humbly observe that by his Constitution he is required to make an exact balance of trade once every year, which it appears . . . he has not done . . . We humbly observe that we think it

<sup>1</sup> Davenant to commissioners, 17 July 1713 in T. 1/153, fo. 213 (no. 51b).

impracticable for him to render accounts with such readiness and exactness as if the leigers were duly posted and brought up according to the duty of his office.' On the matter of expense they were equally unfavourable. Culliford had £500 and £200 for two clerks, Davenant £1000, £200, and *communibus annis* about £70 for stationery, besides the two temporary clerks at £50 per annum.<sup>1</sup>

If Davenant's position was still secure, it can hardly have remained so through the political crises of the next year. With the queen's life failing, party strife rising to revolutionary pitch, and the Spanish commercial treaty involved in the party strife, he was in an even more exposed situation than most of the tory functionaries. He seems, however, to have ridden out the storm. George I succeeded to the crown in August. Davenant lived only until 6 November, but he died in office.

The third of the inspectors-general was, like Davenant, a pamphleteer and an economist, though, as he was appointed by the new whig government, he was naturally a man who had taken the opposite side in the controversy about the French commercial treaty. His name was Henry Martin or Martyn, and he was one of the leading writers of *The British Merchant*.<sup>2</sup> Beyond that, disappointingly little is known about his earlier career. He contributed to *The Spectator*, and there is some ground for thinking that he may have been the author of the anonymous *Considerations on the East India Trade* of 1701, the ablest and best written of the early pamphlets in which free-trade doctrines are anticipated.<sup>3</sup>

No change was made in the emoluments of the office when Martin was appointed, though in 1718 his salary seems to have dropped from £1000 to £700.<sup>4</sup> His first business was to make up Davenant's arrears. The way in which this was to be done and his intentions on entering office are stated in a letter, almost familiar in tone, written to Lord Treasurer Shrewsbury on 18 November 1714.<sup>5</sup> In the course of this letter he says: 'Your lordship will perceive that I have charged myself with no more than the seven first columns of Tables A and C.<sup>6</sup> The remainder of these tables I have left to be perfected by the council of trade and the whole I have left to the council is not a tenth part of the charge which I have taken upon myself.

'It had been arrogance in me to prescribe to the council of trade,

<sup>1</sup> Same to same, 14 August 1713, *ibid.*, fo. 211 (no. 51a); commissioners to lord treasurer, 26 August, *ibid.*, fo. 209 (no. 51). This correspondence is summarised in *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1708-14. That others besides the commissioners of customs considered Davenant slack is shown by the rebuke administered by the board of trade on 23 March 1708/9: see its *Journal* under that date.

<sup>2</sup> See the preface to the reprint of 1721, p. xiv. No Constitution for Martin is indexed in T. 11/16. T. 11/17, p. 1, refers to his 'Grant.' He appears to have held the office, unlike his predecessors and successors, by patent.

<sup>3</sup> The evidence is reviewed in P. J. Thomas, *Mercantilism and the East India Trade* (1925), App. B.

<sup>4</sup> Chamberlayne, *Magnæ Britanniae Notitia* (1718).

<sup>5</sup> T. 184, no. 42.

<sup>6</sup> This refers to the columns of values in some tables which he was to prepare: see *Journal of the Commissioners*, 4 January 1714/15.



though I have presumed to give your lordship the example of a book as it will stand perfect in that office . . .

• '[Dr. Davenant] has dropt the valuation of the parcelles [of imports and exports], and as it is said by the leave of the earl of Oxford. I believe he was displeased with the charge for certainly it is more than one man's whole labour.

' Nevertheless I find six clerks in his office at the charge of £300 per annum.

' Besides what was done by Dr. Davenant, I am to give the valuation of the parcelles, the tonnage of the goods imported and exported in our own and in foreign shipping, the course of the exchange, and a copy of a leidger as big as one of the Books of Martyrs, for the council of trade. I am not yet a judg of the charge of doing this.

' It becomes me to be as modest in my own pretensions after your lordship's favour as I was before. And if £500 per annum shall be thought too much for myself, I shall be very well pleased with whatsoever your lordship shall think sufficient; onely I should be very glad, that nothing more than my own salary may appear in my Constitution for otherwise I shall pay taxēs for my clerks.

' As for the charge of executing the office, if your lordship pleases the commissioners of customs will be able to tell how much is fit to be appointed to this charge. . . .

' It is possible, my lord, I might be of some use at first in the whole execution of the schemes which are my own contrivance. Mr. Popple, who is secretary to the council of trade and plantations, shall in this case have all the assistance I can spare him from my own office.'

The new government put in an entirely new body of commissioners at the board of trade. They held their first meeting on 4 January 1714/15, and were soon asking Martin for returns on the matters that specially occupied them, beginning with Spanish trade, the subject of the much-discussed treaty of the previous government, and a general review of the trade of the preceding five or ten years. These demands continued in the usual way throughout Martin's term of office, and, though he sometimes needed reminders and sometimes reasonably asked for more time, he seems to have dealt with them satisfactorily. In 1716 he obtained a refund of £290 for his extraordinary expenditure in his first six months of office, when he had employed nine clerks in making up Davenant's arrears and in the other work imposed upon him; but the commissioners of customs considered that for the future, even if he was out of pocket, he should carry out his duties in return for his allowance for clerks, which was then £200.<sup>1</sup> In March 1717/18, however, he again got an additional payment: eight returns which he enumerated, had kept him and four clerks almost wholly employed for three months, and the commissioners of customs accepted his view that, without some concession, it would be 'impossible for him to keep any clerks in his office.' The treasury granted £30.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> T. 11/17, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.

Two or three small points may be noted. Next year the board of trade applied to the treasury for the use of the books made up before that time by the inspectors-general,<sup>1</sup> and later they represented the necessity of having annual copies of the ledgers.<sup>2</sup> In 1716/17 they enquired of Martin whether his books included the trade of Scotland,<sup>3</sup> and, on discovering that they did not, asked the treasury that they might have an annual account of the general imports and exports to and from Scotland 'as promised by the Commissioners of the Customs in that part of Great Britain in their letter mentioned in the minutes of 7th December 1710'.<sup>4</sup> This letter had been accompanied by an abstract of Scottish trade with Sweden from 1 May 1707 to 25 March 1710, and other separate returns were made from time to time; but it does not appear that regular annual returns were made to the board of trade. The inspectors-general, as we have seen, handled no Scottish figures until 1761.<sup>5</sup>

Martin was consulted from time to time on questions of policy, such as the rates of duty on linen<sup>6</sup> and the disadvantages of the importing of foreign calicoes.<sup>7</sup> In the autumn of 1717 he was asked, for what immediate reason does not appear, to give a general account of the balance of trade to all parts for some years past, and as near the present time as he could.<sup>8</sup> For this purpose he put in the most interesting document which had, down to that time, come from his office.<sup>9</sup> It contained his observations on the commercial statistics for the whole period since the office was created, that is for the seventeen years ending at Christmas 1714. First he explained how the accounts had been drawn up.<sup>10</sup> Davenant having failed to fill in the values except for the goods not rated, Martin had filled up the blanks from 1705, always using the same prices for the same species of goods, except that from that time he fixed new prices on the several sorts of woollen manufacture, nearer, as he believed to 'their most current value.' It is somewhat surprising that the board of trade returned to this question of values nearly three years later. Martin was then asked to give in writing the best account he could of the manner in which the valuations had at first been adjusted and settled; and whether, on his entry into office, the valuations were revised and corrected by the principal traders to each place. After a subordinate had replied on his behalf, Martin attended the board and again explained his practice, adding some new information. He had endeavoured to correct the valuations of several foreign goods by the assistance of some of the principal merchants, to whom he had sent lists of the said goods for that purpose, but he had received no answers from them. As to the woollen manufactures, he had valued them by the assist-

<sup>1</sup> T. 11/17, 4 January 1715/16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 March 1716/17.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 October 1719.

<sup>9</sup> See the text in Appendix III below; the memorandum was accompanied by accounts of imports and exports and foreign coin and bullion exported (*Journal of the Commissioners*, 13 January 1717/18).

<sup>10</sup> The memorandum mistakenly says that Culliford always valued the same species at the same price: see above, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 Aug. 1717.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 March 1717.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 April 1717.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 November 1717.

ance of some of the most considerable persons concerned therein, and he would still endeavour to get the best information he could of the present value of plantation and foreign commodities.<sup>1</sup>

In his memorandum of 1718, after explaining the practice of valuation, Martin proceeded to a lucid and convincing proof that however they had been drawn up, the accounts of imports and exports could not have given even an approximate estimate of the real general balance of trade. Some of the points he made had been familiar to earlier writers on trade. Invisible imports and exports, smuggling, the goods imported on behalf of owners in the plantations, colonial-built ships sold in England had been discussed in this connection before;<sup>2</sup> but, even if there is nothing new in it, this argument of Martin's is the most complete analysis of the problem ever made down to that time. He did not infer from it that the whole work of his office was useless. He concluded by saying that, although the exact balance could never be known, the accounts would serve to show the increase or decrease of such trades as were beneficial or detrimental. Which was which could be known only by observing the nature of the imports and exports in each case; and, in order to trace the increase or decrease of the quantities, it was necessary to have the same species valued always at the same price.

The purpose of the memorandum evidently was to justify Martin in following the valuation of his predecessors. It had several weak points. He gave no reason for making an exception of wool. He did not discuss the obvious imperfections of the system of expressing the quantities in terms of money. It appears from the re-opening of the question in 1720 that the commissioners were not convinced.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Commissioners*, 19 August, 18 September 1720. Mr. W. G. Hoskins in *Industry, Trade and People in Exeter* (1935), p. 68, draws attention to two discrepant estimates of wool exports in 1700, one in C.O. 390/12, the other in Customs 3/4. Mr. Hoskins is wrong in thinking that the former originated with the board of trade: it is dated 'Custom House Inspector General's Office 21 November 1715'; and is thus the work of Martin, the other being Culliford's ledger. In Martin's return the woollen exports to Spain are valued at £361,873 10s. 5d., whereas the ledger entries for them add up to £372,477 8s. 2d. Unfortunately the return does not give quantities, or rates or species but only the total value for each country, so that the discrepancy cannot be explained. Mr. Hoskins seems to be mistaken in giving the ledger value for Spain as £447,000.

<sup>2</sup> For some references see J. Viner, 'English Theories of Foreign Trade before Adam Smith,' in *Journal of Political Economy*, xxxviii (1930), especially pp. 262-3. If Martin followed any printed work more than another it was probably Sir Josiah Child's *Discourse of Trade* (1690), pp. 137-40 (pp. 154-6 in the edition of 1694 with the title *New Discourse of Trade*).

John Cary, the Bristol merchant and economist, in his *Essay*, was of opinion that the Custom House estimates could not be of any certainty. He pointed out as obstacles to finding the general balance, the trade 'driven by exchange' and the importations on account of owners in the plantations. In relation to the balance with particular countries, he mentioned the way in which exports to one country pay for imports from another, and the difficulty of reckoning in the profits on freights and sales (*Essay on the State of England in relation to its Trade*, 1695, pp. 137-9). The second edition of this work, with the title *Essay towards regulating the Trade and employing the Poor of this Kingdom*, was published in 1719. The passage in question begins at p. 84 and is altered by the additions of references to the new books of imports and exports and to over-entries for woollen exports.

It was, however, about this time that interest in the balance of trade was weakening in England. Walpole's reform of the tariff began soon after this; indeed, the accounts asked from Martin, at this time may be amongst the preliminaries of this reform; and the principle of the reform was the substitution of simple industrial protectionism for regulation in the interests of the balance of trade. This helps to explain the fact that, even if the board of trade was not convinced by Martin, there was no change of system; but so long as the series of ledgers continued, the valuations were now stereotyped, even for woollen goods. The suspicion must remain that in allowing them to become so, Martin was partly actuated by a desire to save himself trouble. He was more attentive to duty than Davenant, but less active in other ways. He died in office on 10 April 1721.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Martin was the last inspector-general of imports and exports in the long period with which we are concerned, who did his work. After his death the office became, like some other offices in the customs, a sinecure, and such it remained until the year 1786. Its holders and their emoluments were as follows:

1721	Anthony Balam	For himself and his clerks £780 His assistant John Oxenford £120
1737	Horatio Walpole <sup>2</sup>	
174-	Thomas de Veil <sup>3</sup> (knighted 1744)	do.
1746	Henry Pelham <sup>4</sup>	do.
1751	Edward Capel <sup>5</sup>	do.
1759	John Pelham <sup>6</sup>	
1763	Fulk Greville <sup>7</sup>	
1765	John Pelham <sup>8</sup>	

Anthony Balam, when he entered on his office<sup>9</sup> reviewed its work with an appearance of zeal. In a memorandum to the commissioners of customs<sup>10</sup> he described the origin of the office and then gave a new piece of information about its reputation. 'In the infancy of this office the enquiries which were sent down by parliament in relating to our foreign trade generally requiring a retrospect

<sup>1</sup> *Musgrave's Obituary*.

<sup>2</sup> Custom House, Notes and Extracts, i, s.v. 'Inspector General of Imports and Exports,' referring to Treasury Warrant of 17 February 1722. This is the celebrated Horace Walpole, then only twenty years old, who, according to the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, resigned the office in January 1738.

<sup>3</sup> de Veil's Constitution does not appear to be in T. 11/22, where it would be expected.

<sup>4</sup> Constitution, 8 October 1746, *vice* de Veil, deceased (T. 11/23, p. 107).

<sup>5</sup> Constitution, 19 November 1751, *vice* Pelham, dismissed (T. 11/24, p. 103).

<sup>6</sup> Constitution, 5 January 1759, *vice* Capel, dismissed (T. 11/25, p. 456). Pelham was also customer or collector of Chester (T. 11/26, pp. 268, 294; T. 11/28, p. 128). His name appears in the list of Sussex gentlemen removed from their offices in 1762-3 as supporters of Newcastle: L. B. Namier, *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (1930), p. 473.

<sup>7</sup> Constitution, 26 January 1763, *vice* Pelham, dismissed (T. 11/27, p. 258).

<sup>8</sup> Constitution, 16 August 1765, *vice* Greville, dismissed (T. 11/28, p. 253).

<sup>9</sup> His Constitution dated 3 August 1721, is in T. 11/18, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> This appears to date from about 8 August 1722, and is in T. 1/240, no. 26 (fo. 89).

into past years, the answers were very imperfect and unsatisfactory which made it at that time to be thought of little use, but through the ability and diligence of my predecessors for about twenty five years the office is now in such order and takes in the trade of so many years that the government, I humbly presume, find the use of it a ready dispatch to their demands lately made.' To make it more perfect he would propose to have the accounts so kept as to be ready to deliver on all occasions not only the gross amount of every specie of goods exported and imported but 'each specie separated under the various denominations and qualitys etc. by which they pay different dutys in such manner that the revenue arising therefrom may with the utmost expedition be cast up and made known, which is frequently required and as often puts the government to an extra expence and sometimes disappointments in delays.' At present, for instance, he could not give an annual 'medium' of the duties on paper because in his books it was specified under the titles of ordinary, brown, painted, etc., under which it paid the old duties, but it was charged with the new duties under a different set of titles, foolscap, fine, second, bastard, etc. Similarly the gross quantity of hides could be given, but not the separate quantities of those which paid by tale and those which paid by weight. As there were many instances of this kind, and as it was of 'great consequence to the publick to know the just income of every particular duty and the good and bad influence such dutys have on the trade upon which they are charged . . . ' he hoped to put the office into such a regulation which 'requires not only more help but a chief clerk suited to his capacity superior to that of a common copying clerk.' The present £200 was not enough for the office in the manner it was then kept, and Balam was at considerable expense to maintain able clerks, five being constantly employed. There were many precedents of successful applications by his predecessors for the reimbursement of extra charges. He therefore recommended John Oxenford 'as a person perfectly qualifd by long experience and great application in the Custom House' to be appointed by warrant of the commissioners as first clerk in the inspector-general's office, at £120 per annum; and he asked also for £80 per annum in addition to the existing £200 for clerks.

The proposal for extending the work of the office does not seem to have been a good one, for the returns of revenue could easily be made by other departments of the customs. It was, however, accepted by the treasury<sup>1</sup> though it does not appear to have been carried out effectively for any length of time. The salaries were fixed as Balam wished. He seems to have taken no active part after these initial arrangements were made; but if he intended from the first to make his office a sinecure, the intention was expressed with much delicacy in Oxenford's Constitution. Balam had represented 'that the keeping a due register of the several species exported from and imported into England, specifying the places from whence imported and whereto exported, is (together with the other duties required from the said office) become so voluminous that the said inspector general cannot himself perform that service, that he is

<sup>1</sup> Warrant of 16 August 1722 in T. 11/18, p. 128.

of opinion that it will be very much for the public service in carrying on the business of that office in case of the death or removal of any inspector general that a person of experience well skilled in the practice and business of the office be appointed assistant or chief clerk to the said inspector general, which will be an encouragement to such clerk to go cheerfully on with his duty without the fear of being laid aside as hath of late been several times practised in that office.' <sup>1</sup> On these public-spirited grounds the inspector-general got his assistant, who soon became a deputy. The choice of Oxenford was good. He had apparently been the inspector-general's clerk at least as early as November 1719, and during Martin's last years had been often in charge of the whole work of the office.<sup>2</sup> He now became the active head, with his own Constitution and the title of 'assistant inspector general.'<sup>3</sup> Nothing need be said about his ordinary work for the next twenty years or so except that it was almost exactly like that of Henry Martin. It was still necessary from time to time for the commissioners of customs to take special measures to expedite the inspector-general's work. In 1733 he was allowed two clerks at £50 per annum to bring up his arrears of business.<sup>4</sup> In 1742 came an order that he 'is every quarter to lay before the board lists of accompts wanting in his office from the out ports, that the same may be wrote for.'<sup>5</sup> In 1746 he was to hasten the copies of his ledger for the board of trade.<sup>6</sup> Oxenford seems to have been the author of a long and not unimportant 'Essay towards finding the Ballance of our whole Trade Annually from Christmas of 1698 to Christmas 1719.'<sup>7</sup> This was presumably composed in 1723, when the accounts were made up to Christmas 1719,<sup>8</sup> and the manuscript is in Oxenford's hand, though unsigned. It is with the records of the board of trade, but it does not appear to have been presented to the board. If it had any immediate practical object, this must have been connected with the revision of the tariff. From the accidental fact that it contains the bookplate of George Chalmers, the well-known commercial statistician of the late eighteenth century, it has been described in the official *List and Index* of the Colonial Office Records in the Public Record Office as 'George Chalmers's Essay on the Balance of Trade.' It seems to be written with knowledge of Martin's memorandum; at least it con-

<sup>1</sup> T. 11/18, pp. 125, 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Board of Trade Journal*, 1741/2-49, pp. 52-3, where the assistant inspector-general states that he cannot give information on the yield of customs duties.

<sup>3</sup> In 1728 he was appointed to the additional office of a jerquer in the port of London (T. 11/19, p. 264), and in 1747 he became register of certificate cockets and examiner of debentures at a salary of £150 (T. 11/23, p. 276). I am unable to explain the order of the commissioners of customs on 21 January 1724 (Custom House, Notes and Extracts, i, s.v. Inspector of Exports and Imports) that he 'is for the future to enter the several articles in his books in such a manner as to distinguish the countries from whence the goods are imported and where exported'. This would appear to have been done already.

<sup>4</sup> Custom House, Notes and Extracts, i, s.v. Inspector of Exports and Imports, 28 June 1733.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 December 1742.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 June 1746.

<sup>7</sup> C.O. 390/14. See the text in Appendix.

<sup>8</sup> The board of trade received them on 12 June (*Journal*, 1722-8, p. 26).

tains arguments against his reasons for thinking that an exact balance could not be struck. It attempts to allow for the over-valuation of exports by making a deduction of 2 per cent. On the whole, it is inferior to Martin's memorandum in style and in reasoning; it has many tiresome repetitions; but it adds some useful details to what we know of the practice of foreign trade and of the inspector-general's office. Thus it explains that double entries and entries for ostentation could be made only in London, not in the out-ports.<sup>1</sup> It makes the reasonable suggestion that the inspector-general ought to get his figures for London exports from the searchers' books, not from the bills of entry;<sup>2</sup> but it states that a test by the board of trade had shown that the discrepancy between these two sources of information did not exceed 4 per cent. Of wider interest are its incidental notices of the financing of commerce and of the consumption of imported goods. It even contributes a little to the history of English costume.<sup>3</sup>

Oxenford carried on the work of the office for thirty-six years, until his death on 24 December 1758.<sup>4</sup> During the latter part of the period there was, however, a change in his habits. Until 1742/3 he was sometimes consulted by the board of trade on general matters of commercial policy, and corresponded with it direct on his own special statistical matters; but after that date he was no longer summoned to appear in person, and written communications passed through the secretary to the commissioners of customs.<sup>5</sup> These changes may have no significance. The former of them may, however, be connected with the fact that the board was gradually less occupied with trade other than that of the plantations. There are some indications, though their evidence is uncertain, that at this time there was a decline in the general estimation of the inspector-general's work. The economic writer, Joshua Gee, in 1729 wrote plainly: 'It is a matter of great difficulty to know the true balance of trade; some expect the custom-house accounts will set us to rights, but there may be a great many falacies in those accounts.' He mentioned some of those which had been known to former writers, and suggested that many exports might be over-rated and imports under-rated. He was an enemy to imports, and he attempted, by very conjectural methods, to show that the inspectors-general had in 1723 returned quantities for certain imports much below the apparent consumption in the country.<sup>6</sup> A few years after the publication of Gee's book the inspector-general's staff was given facilities for improving the accuracy of its returns in one small particular: it was to have access to the land surveyors' book of over-entries inwards.<sup>7</sup> That there was no general loss of confidence in its work is shown by an actual increase in the amount of its business: in 1744 extra clerks were allowed to cope with an 'occasional

<sup>1</sup> Contrast Davenant's statement, p. 57 below.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 75-134.

<sup>4</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1758, p. 616.

<sup>5</sup> The last record of the old system in the *Board of Trade Journal* is on 2 February 1743/4.

<sup>6</sup> *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered* (new ed., 1767), pp. 191 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Custom House, Notes and Extracts, *ubi supra*, 29 November 1732.



increase.'<sup>1</sup> David Hume, in his essay 'On the Balance of Trade,' which was published in 1752, not only exposed the current economic fallacies on this subject, but also remarked: 'The customhouse books are allowed to be an insufficient ground of reasoning.' He gave no reasons, and although he had a low opinion of Gee as a theorist, he may have had none except those of Gee; in any case, his evidence that this was then an accepted view can hardly be rejected.

There is, indeed, no evidence that parliamentary politicians shared this scepticism;<sup>2</sup> but they asked for greater precision in the inspector-general's accounts, a few months before Hume's book appeared. On 7 May 1751 the treasury wrote to the commissioners of customs as follows: 'Notice being taken in the house of commons that the different species of linnens exported were not kept sufficiently distinct, with regard to cheques and striped linnens, the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury are pleased to direct you to give orders that more distinct accounts be kept of all goods imported, though the same pay no duty; and of all goods exported, though the same are not entitled to any bounty or drawback, than has hitherto been done, that thereby a more adequate judgment may be formed of the increase or decrease of any particular species of goods than can be framed from the present manner of keeping those accounts.'<sup>3</sup> We have already seen reasons enough for thinking that this demand could scarcely have been satisfied. Parliament, nevertheless, still asked for more figures and Oxenford's busiest period came in 1755. In January of that year parliament asked for a quantity of information which exceeded all precedents. The various returns amounted to abstracts for the past thirty years of the imports and exports of all sorts of linens, woollens, East India goods, and most other commodities. For the first time, the inspector-general was ordered to have them ready for the next session of parliament; while at the same time the lords of the treasury demanded accounts of naval stores and other goods, with the result that he and his seven clerks were wholly occupied with this work until 28 January 1756 and their routine work fell into arrear. The difficulty was cleared up by a grant of £25 for additional help, the last of three such grants which Oxenford seems to have had, the others being of about 1729 and 1732.<sup>4</sup>

Oxenford's successor, John Tomkyns, also did a long spell of duty.<sup>5</sup> It was not until 1785 that he retired on a pension, and the twenty-seven years of his tenure were marked by a series of changes which ended in the complete transformation of the office and its methods. In his first years steps were taken, presumably on his

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 June 1744. The order of 5 April 1744 (see above, p. 8) shows that this occasional increase was due not to the wishes of the commissioners of customs, but to a demand from outside, apparently (see below, pp. 177-9) from the house of commons.

<sup>2</sup> Oxenford had a special payment of £30 ordered on 10 March 1752 (Custom House, Notes and Extracts, i).

<sup>3</sup> 11/24, p. 60, and Custom House, Notes and Extracts, *ubi supra*, 9 May 1751.

<sup>4</sup> T. 11/25, p. 190; 20, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> His Constitution, dated 4 January 1759, is in T. 11/25, p. 452. On p. 460 is a notice of a request from his office in the same month for additional payment for returns made out for the house of commons.



initiative, to give him better information. Shortly after his appointment, it was ordered that he was 'to have access to the cocket-book in the searchers' office':<sup>1</sup> from his point of view the cocket-book was a list of goods exported. Three and a half years later he was 'directed to apply weekly to the searchers for copies of the shipping bills, in order that being constantly furnished therewith, he may be enabled to make up more exact accounts than can be made from the bills of entry only; and, the order continued, 'that in case he should at any time meet with any difficulty in obtaining such copies from those officers' he was 'to represent the same to the board'.<sup>2</sup> It was scarcely a month before he complained of the inaccurate manner in which the searchers kept their shipping bills, whereupon the board enjoined those officers 'to observe more regularity etc.'<sup>3</sup> On the same day the inspector-general was ordered to appoint a clerk at his own expense to inspect and copy the shipping bills; two months later he was 'to provide and keep a book to enter the exact quantities of free goods endorsed on the shipping bills and shipped for exportation'.<sup>4</sup> This series of orders shows that an attempt was made to remedy the known defect of the statistics in the over-entries of exports. They also show that the attempt encountered difficulties; whether it led to any substantial improvements, it does not seem possible to decide. In 1767 the landing surveyors were directed to supply the inspector-general weekly with accounts of over-entries and damages on goods inwards,<sup>5</sup> a similar correction of minor importance.

When Tomkyns was appointed the Seven Years War was half-way through its course; its victorious end set new problems for commercial policy. In May 1766, three years after the peace, the treasury approved a memorial from the commissioners of customs, in which they wrote: 'The business of the office of inspector-general of imports and exports being greatly increased, not only by the late acquisition in America but by the great number and variety of accounts called for by the house of lords, the house of commons and your lordships, and Mr. John Tomkyns, the assistant inspector-general, who has served in that station and as a clerk in the said office upwards of 31 years, having a salary of no more than £120 per annum upon the establishment and £20 per annum payable by incidents in pursuance of a warrant of the treasury of the 13th August 1717 for a copy of the ledger for the board of trade . . . Mr. Tomkyns having given repeated proofs of his assiduity therein' they recommended an addition of £60 per annum to his salary to be placed on the establishment, together with the £20 for the board of trade's copy of the ledger.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Custom House, Notes and Extracts, iii, s.v. Inspector General of Imports and Exports, 4 May 1759.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 December 1762.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 January 1763.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 March 1763.

<sup>5</sup> Custom House, Notes and Extracts, iii, s.v. Inspector General of Imports and Exports, 3 November 1767.

<sup>6</sup> T. 11/28, p. 317, and Custom House, Notes and Extracts, iii, s.v. Inspector General of Imports and Exports, 16 June 1766. Tomkyns was granted a special allowance of £60 for himself and his clerks for preparing accounts for the commons 'etc.' (*ibid.*, 8 May 1764).

This increase of salary and the appreciation which it implies lead up to the interesting fact that the inspector-general's figures were used as materials for a more stately form of literature than they had ever appeared in before, when in 1769 Edmund Burke worked them up in his *Observations on a late Publication, intituled, The Present State of the Nation*.

As the difficulties with the American colonies increased in the seventeen-seventies, the assistant inspector-general had his share in the administrative bustle. In August 1774 he got an additional payment of £100 for an account of rum exported from each port of Ireland in 1758-70, and an addition of £50 a year to his salary, with £40 for a clerk, for preparing weekly accounts of the number of emigrants to America and to foreign ports.<sup>1</sup> It must have been about the same time that a new kind of statistical table began to be prepared in the office.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately we have no information about the reasons why this change was made; but the new tables were simpler, and at the same time more comprehensive, than the old ledgers, and they must have been intended to give a better general view of the commercial position than had previously been possible. The authority for which they were primarily intended was the treasury; or at least this seems to be implied by the abstract of the minute of the commissioners of customs, in which the inspector-general is ordered 'to prepare annually an account of the amount of the value of the imports and exports to and from England to be transmitted to the treasury.'<sup>3</sup> They ultimately superseded the old ledgers and the annual abstracts from them, and though the ledgers were still for some years prepared alongside of them, the new method may be said to have foreshadowed fundamental changes in the inspector-general's work. The new tables are called 'States of Navigation and Commerce'<sup>4</sup> and the first of them deals with the year 1772. It gives tables for England, Scotland, and Great Britain. First are tables for shipping, then imports and exports by quantities and values, the same official values as those of the ledgers, under countries and species. At the end are general abstracts by species and 'grand divisions,' that is continents, and then by countries without species. There is no distinction between London and the out-ports, and the tables of imports and exports do not distinguish between those carried in English and those carried in foreign ships. Nor does anything appear to have been lost by this simplification. In later years the tables grew somewhat more complicated, as such tables are apt to do, especially by the addition of a section showing the receipts of the customs revenue. A minor change, first introduced in the ledger for 1771, may be noted as belonging to the same

<sup>1</sup> T. 11/30, pp. 479, 482-3; Notes and Extracts, *loc. cit.*, 18, 19 August 1774.

<sup>2</sup> The origin of the new tables may perhaps be connected with the letter of the secretary to the treasury to the commissioners of customs, 16 December 1777, in T. 11/31, p. 396, calling for a return of imports and exports 'in the first place' with respect to Canada, Nova Scotia, Florida, Jamaica, Flanders, Spain, Holland, France, Germany and St. Eustatia.

<sup>3</sup> Custom House, Notes and Extracts, *loc. cit.*, 20 March 1771. The allowance of 2s. a day to the clerks on 19 March 1773 (*ibid.*) for working extra hours may well be due to the preparation of the new tables.

<sup>4</sup> Customs 17.

period of improvement : in the lists of re-exports, East India goods were now distinguished from the other foreign goods amongst which they had previously been included without distinction.<sup>1</sup>

In 1776 certain annual abstracts of the inspector-general's statistics from their beginning until Christmas 1773 were made available for the public in a volume which has been much used by historians, Sir Charles Whitworth's *State of the Trade of Great Britain in its Imports and Exports*. Whitworth had sat in parliament for nearly twenty years and published various compilations of parliamentary history. He believed in the value of disseminating commercial information. We shall notice later another of his efforts in this direction, and we may here mention that in 1771 he published the collected edition of the works of Charles Davenant. *The State of the Trade of Great Britain* appeared to contemporaries an important work. A translation was printed in France by the *imprimerie royale* in 1777. The title is in one respect misleading : the accounts refer, as we have already noticed, not to Great Britain but only to England. The introduction is unimportant, consisting of remarks on British commerce derived from Malachi Postlethwayt and a popular but second-rate geographical writer, William Guthrie, with a few sentences on the reasons for over-entries at the Custom House. The body of the book consists of annual tables compiled from 'the annual Accounts given in by the proper Officers to the House of Commons.'<sup>2</sup> The same abstracts are given from 1760 at the end of each year in David Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*.<sup>3</sup> In that work the series is continued, after the dates covered by Whitworth, to 1800, and includes the figures for Scotland, which Whitworth does not give.<sup>4</sup> In one important respect these tables differ from the abstracts of foreign trade which are familiar in books of reference in our own day. They give the estimated money values of imports and exports as divided among the different countries with which trade was carried on ; but they do not in any way distinguish between the different classes of goods. The reason for this appears to be more than accidental. It would not have been difficult to classify the trade under species ; but, in the early days of the statistics, as we have seen, the first object of attention was the particular balance of trade with each country. When this came to be thought less important it is possible that a further reason, besides mere conservatism, prevented a change to the other system. It may have been thought that foreign competitors would know too much if they could trace the fluctuations in the importing and exporting of particular commodities. We know that some people supposed the publication of commercial statistics to be dangerous. In or about the year in which Whitworth's book was published, an official wrote a note in a manuscript volume of precisely similar tables, with this curious remark : 'As I do conceive that permitting a copy of these

<sup>1</sup> Note of 1788 in B.T. 6/241.

<sup>2</sup> I have not seen any printed annual copies of these, nor have I discovered whether they were rendered annually from the beginnings of the office or from some later date.

<sup>3</sup> Vols. iii-iv (1805). For the sources of the later years and the Scottish figures see below, pp. 31, 41.

<sup>4</sup> He omits the item 'Foreign Coin and Bullion': see below, p. 35.

calculations to go forth and thereby become publick, and foreigners informed how far the commerce of this country is for or against them, would be attended with very bad consequences ; I do therefore beg and intreat the possessor of this book to be upon his guard against the mischief here presumed.' <sup>1</sup>

In spite of this, and in spite of the success of Whitworth's publication, the inspector-general's figures were not more highly esteemed by the best judges than they had been before. *The Wealth of Nations* appeared in the same year as Whitworth's tables, and in it Adam Smith said : ' The custom-house books, I think, it is now generally acknowledged, are a very uncertain criterion, on account of the inaccuracy of the valuation at which the greater part of the goods are rated in them.' <sup>2</sup>

In 1780 the old series of the ledgers, as we now have it, comes to an end. It appears, however, that this may be due only to the fire at the Custom House in 1814, and that the series may originally have continued throughout the period 1781-91.<sup>3</sup> Its termination was in all probability an incident in the general reform of the inspector-general's office. In 1780 the commissioners of customs dealt severely with the dilatory clerk who furnished the inspector-general with the bills of entry : in future he was not to have his salary if he was more than three months in arrear with his work.<sup>4</sup> We know nothing more of the circumstances, and so we should not be justified in saying that the American war, which was then going on, had anything to do with this little act of discipline ; but the American war had ultimately a great effect on the work of the office. It, and the repentance after it, began the break-up of the old régime in England. In 1782 Burke's 'economical reform' swept away the old board of trade, transferring its duties for the time being to a committee of the privy council. This does not appear to have made any difference to the work of the inspector-general's office ; but the office did not escape the scrutiny of the commissioners of public accounts who, in the same movement of reform, overhauled the whole administrative machinery of the state. John Tomkyns gave them a clear account of his work. ' The Inspector-General executes no part of the Business . . . Every Bill for an Import or an Export, at the Port of London, is brought to this Office, and the Quantity of every Article upon each of these Bills is entered in this Office, distinguishing the Country from and to which each Article is brought or sent. Every Out Port sends to this Office a similar Quarterly Account of the Imports and Exports, of which Entries are made in this Office ; from hence an Account may be obtained from this Office of the Quantity of every Article exported or imported, and to and from what Country, at any Port in England, for any given time.' <sup>5</sup> This was almost the end of Tomkyns' fifty years'

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29,903, after the last completed entry.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Cannan, i. 439.

<sup>3</sup> *Royal Commission on the Public Records, First Report*, vol. I, pt. ii (1912), p. 47, n.\*

<sup>4</sup> Notes and Extracts, iii, s.v. Bills of Entry.

<sup>5</sup> (J. Lane), *Reports of the Commissioners of Public Accounts*, vol. iii (1787), p. 432. For the return of the establishment of the office made to these commissioners see below, p. 150.

service. In August 1785 he informed the lords of the treasury that he was not able to go through business with his usual alacrity and satisfaction to himself; he found it too laborious, and he prayed to relinquish his office and to have a moderate competency for the rest of his life. His prayer was granted, and, in the new spirit of reform, his pension of £100 a year was made a charge on the inspector-general.<sup>1</sup> The old régime was indeed breaking up. Within less than a year the last of the sinecurist inspector-generals, John Pelham, died; and he was succeeded by Thomas Irving, who had himself been appointed only three months earlier as successor to Tomkyns.<sup>2</sup> At first Irving was given the same emoluments as his predecessors since Antony Balam, but within his first year he had two additional sums for extra clerks.<sup>3</sup> There are abundant signs in the documents left behind by the commercial negotiations of Pitt's ministry that Irving began a new era in the inspector-general's office. He wrote in 1790, in the introduction to the twentieth volume of the 'State of the Navigation, Revenue and Commerce of the British Empire,' the epitaph of the old statistical system. He repeated the familiar criticisms of the entries of free goods outwards, drew attention to the obsolescence of the official values, insisted that in striking the balance of trade the freight ought to have been included in the value of exports in British and imports in foreign bottoms. He concluded that 'the arguments held both in and out of parliament, and the voluminous writings of various authors upon the subject of commercial balances, chiefly founded upon the accounts of the inspector general's office, are made upon false data.'<sup>4</sup> It was not, however, until 1799 that declared values were used in these statistics, and even then the use of the official values was still continued side by side with them.

At this point we may conveniently end our narrative; but there remain to be mentioned one or two subsequent enquiries which led to the retrospective publication of some of the manuscript materials we have mentioned. In the year 1787 a volume of parliamentary papers was published in connection with Pitt's tariff changes and especially with his French commercial treaty of the previous year, which, for a short time, ended the tariff war begun in the seventeenth century. This gave annual tables of trade between England and France from 1714 to 1761, and between all Great Britain and France from 1761 to 1787, in both cases by quantities as well as values. These were followed by some other tables which need not be mentioned here, and by tables for Portugal from 5 January 1761 to 5 January 1787 similar to those for France. For these countries, therefore, in these years the whole contents of the great ledgers are available in print. It is for this reason that economic historians have usually treated the French and Portuguese trade of the

<sup>1</sup> T. 11/34, pp. 46, 360.

<sup>2</sup> Constitutions for the two offices 5 January and 7 April 1786 in T. 11/34, pp. 389, 261.

<sup>3</sup> Letters of 27 October 1786 and 1 February 1787 in T. 11/34, pp. 480, 497.

<sup>4</sup> Customs 17/12, partly printed in Bal Krishna, *Commercial Relations between India and England* (1924), pp. 184-6.

eighteenth century more fully and clearly than that with any other country.

#### VALUE AND USE OF THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S STATISTICS

A general review of the work of the inspectors-general in the eighteenth century should begin by emphasising its importance. It is much to the credit of the English governments, and it is even somewhat surprising, that they maintained at considerable public expense throughout the period, this machinery for ascertaining the facts of commerce. That its statistical work made so considerable a contribution to theoretical discussions and to the formulation of policy should add to our respect for that commercial policy itself. It is true that the work fell short of what it might have been. We have noticed the failings of the most famous of the inspectors-general, the absenteeism of six of his successors, the signs that at some periods the work went on in a spirit of unenterprising routine. It may be surprising that the work was done at all, but, if it is to be judged by modern standards, it is equally surprising that it was not done better. Throughout the period, scarcely anything was attempted beyond the estimation of the trade of each year. There was scarcely anything in the way of comparison or calculation, no approach to the estimating of trends or directions of development. Only at rare intervals did an inspector-general work out an average for the trade in some commodity or commodities for a period of years.<sup>1</sup> In the early days of the board of trade, one of its members, Sir Philip Meadows, devised a table for ready reference in which the several items of the returns could be compared at a glance with those of other years or countries.<sup>2</sup> No one seems ever to have used it or imitated it. We need not regret this lack of intellectual vigour; greater ambitions would probably have led to greater interference in the interests of parties or policies, and, as they stand, these materials have the merit of having been subjected to comparatively little interested pressure.

Whatever value they may have for us must be their value as records of what happened; but, for the critical study of these materials, we may be guided chiefly by the contemporary criticisms, although these were directed mainly, not to the accuracy of the record but to its value as a basis for calculating the balance of trade. The main points of these criticisms have already been mentioned. In recapitulating them here, we shall do well to begin by considering the statistics as records of the movements of goods, postponing until later the more complicated and secondary question of their estimates of the values of the goods.

It is evident that these statistics are more valuable as records of the quantities of goods, given by weight or measure or tale, than of their value in money, for the greater part of the values were reached by subsequent calculation and all of them involved a much larger

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Davenant in his Second Report to the Commissioners of Public Accounts (*Works*, vol. V (1771); Martin to the board of trade in 1715 on woollen goods, tin and fish (*Journal*, 27 June 1715).

<sup>2</sup> C.O. 388/8, D. 37.5 March 1700/1.

element of estimation or guessing, and left more room for fraud, than the statements of quantity. There are, however, serious defects in the figures of quantities. The first comes from the fact that they record, however imperfectly, only the trade which passed through the customs. They tell us nothing about the great quantities of goods which were smuggled. In the nature of the case it is impossible to invent any satisfactory way of correcting the figures to allow for these goods. Guesses were sometimes made as to the extent of smuggling. In the early eighteenth century it was commonly supposed that the clandestine importation of French wines was equal to a third of that openly carried on ;<sup>1</sup> but we have no means of knowing whether this estimate and others like it are anywhere near the truth. This uncertainty is limited only by the fact that only certain kinds of goods were smuggled in great quantities. The quantity was greater when the tax was higher and when the goods were portable and easily concealed ; among imports, wines and spirits, tobacco, tea and silk were the ' free-trader's ' staples ; among exports, however, raw wool, a prohibited export, in spite of its bulk, was carried to France to the value certainly of thousands of pounds a year. There was naturally no smuggling of permitted exports, that were free of duty ; but it should be noticed that the entries of these are indirectly affected by the question of smuggling, since they were sometimes smuggled into the country and then exported as ' of the growth or manufacture of Britain ' when they ought to have been entered as re-exports of foreign commodities. Smuggling then vitiates the figures for the highly taxed imports, for the prohibited exports (including contraband of war), and, so far as their local origin is concerned, for re-exports of taxed imports.

Nor is that all. It might be supposed that the proportion of smuggled goods that passed the customs would remain fairly constant, so that, even without knowing the quantities of goods for each year, we could approximately trace the rise and fall in these quantities from one year to another. Unfortunately it is generally agreed that heavy increases of duties, and still more prohibitions, increased the rewards and therefore the prevalence of smuggling, while large reductions of duties decreased it. We can therefore trace the fluctuations in the movements of heavily taxed or prohibited goods only within each period of the commercial policy affecting them. Thus, in tracing trade with France, we must be very reserved in comparing the period from 1678 to 1685 with the succeeding period ; in general we must be cautious in comparing periods of war with periods of peace ; we must make no close comparison of the periods before and after Walpole's reform of the customs. For this reason alone, which as we shall see is reinforced by others, the inspector-general's figures may be used with much greater confidence for comparisons of neighbouring years in which the conditions were similar than over longer periods and across changes in law and policy. Further, they are useful for comparing imports with imports or

<sup>1</sup> *The British Merchant*, i. 306. For the arguments in favour of low estimates of the amount of smuggling see below, pp. 105-14, where with some reason the whole is estimated at less than one third of the lawful imports from France and Holland.



exports with exports, rather than for their original purpose of comparing imports with exports.

Akin to the difficulty about smuggling is the difficulty which arises from incorrect entries at the customs. These were of various kinds. There is no evidence of a kind of defect which we sometimes find in statistics, the making of meaningless, conventional entries by officials who were too lazy to keep their records alive. In London, where more than one ship might be available at the same time, a merchant sometimes entered his goods with the intention of exporting them by one and then, changing his mind, had to enter them for another.<sup>1</sup> More important were the different kinds of fraudulent entries made by bribed or indulgent customs officers. The most obvious, affecting the same classes of goods as smuggling and in the same way, was entering goods of prohibited origin or destination under the heading of some other country. We are told, and there is no reason to doubt, that the customs officers were directed by their superiors to allow French wines to be imported as wines of friendly countries both in the war of the Spanish Succession and in later wars. Probably, however, the most important false entries at the customs were those of goods that were not affected by smuggling, namely the over-entries outwards, which, as we have seen, caused concern from the time of Charles Davenant to that of Mr. Gladstone. They are said to have occurred only in London,<sup>2</sup> but that is small comfort. From 1701 they affect the quantities of woollen goods, our greatest article of export;<sup>3</sup> from 1722 they affect practically all exports;<sup>4</sup> they are said to have been especially bad in exports to the colonies.<sup>5</sup> With false entries as with clandestine trade, it is useless to try to make a quantitative correction. The experts were no doubt right in thinking that the searchers' books were more accurate than the bills of entry,<sup>6</sup> and on one occasion a comparison of the two series of figures was actually made. This had the reassuring result of showing a divergence of no more than 4 per cent,<sup>7</sup> but we cannot by any means infer that 4 per cent was the whole margin of error of the bills of entry. Here again we have a reason for restricting our comparisons to short periods of time, and to comparing only imports with imports and exports with exports. After 1759 it may perhaps be presumed that the errors arising from double entries and entries for ostentation were at least much reduced.<sup>8</sup>

We must now consider the species of goods included in the returns. The system of classification is straightforward, and presents no difficulties; the only change worth noticing is the more detailed specification of linens introduced in 1751.<sup>9</sup> It should be remembered that fish landed from home waters are not entered as imports, though British fishermen sometimes landed their catch in foreign ports. An anomaly of the returns is their treatment of coin and bullion. The export of British coin was prohibited and therefore,

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 81.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 28.



if any were exported, it did not appear in the statistics. Foreign coin and bullion might, however, be exported and a register of such exports was kept from 1695.<sup>1</sup> Until 1765 the totals of the export trade were swollen by the addition of the figures from this register, which appeared in the annual abstracts (for instance in Whitworth's book) as a separate item, without any mention of the destinations. Oddly enough, however, though the foreign coin, if genuine, and the bullion, if not illegally obtained by melting down coin of the realm, must have been re-exports, they do not appear on the import side. Another small anomaly appears in the accounts for the years 1756-64: British and Irish linens exported under bounty were entered under the two separate headings of foreign and colonial trade, the destinations not being shown in detail. This was intended to give an easy view of the effects of the bounty; but it ran across the main plan of the statistics, and Tomkyns therefore gave it up and entered the linens with the other exports to each country.

Another instance where entries might well have been made on the import side, and were not made, is that of colonial-built ships sold in England. These were imports. From the point of view of calculations of the balance of trade they were in a close relation to two other items which were not included and should not have been included in statistics of the mere movements of commodities: freights, and goods imported on behalf of owners in the colonies.<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of the modern historian the statistics would have become still more misleading if they had included estimates of these very elusive factors, or of the equally uncertain converse factor of goods exported for use as capital in the British colonies.<sup>3</sup>

The geographical headings under which the figures were arranged must be regarded with caution. In the first place, the monopoly of colonial trade and the discrimination against various branches of foreign trade supplied motives for false statements by merchants as to the origin and destinations of goods. If East Indian goods were imported from Holland, or if goods were exported to an enemy country in time of war, they might be not smuggled but passed through the customs under false declarations. This is a difficulty of the same nature as the difficulty about smuggling. Secondly, there was nothing to make merchants specify places of origin or destination, at least of ultimate origin and destination, exactly. The transit trade through Holland to and from Germany appears simply under the heading of Holland. Among the West Indian islands, again, it will be observed that at times exports to Barbados are disproportionately large for its wealth and population. This is partly to be accounted for by the fact that this island was frequently the first point of call on outward voyages, so that a ship which intended to touch there and unload only a part of its cargo might be entered as simply destined thither. From 1704 to 1768 there is a heading 'West Indies in General' in addition to those for the separate British and foreign colonies. The sums here

<sup>1</sup> Davenant, *Works*, v. 391.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> For the latter point see Macpherson, iii. 342, where the footnote shows the difficulty of calculation.

entered, fortunately inconsiderable in amount, belong, in proportions which cannot be estimated, to the separate colonies, the figures for which are to that unknown extent imperfect. John Tomkyns, seeing the disadvantage of this, put an end to the practice of allowing entries under this general heading.<sup>1</sup> A further point to remember in connexion with the geographical headings is that exports of stores of all kinds for British armies on the continent appear always to have been included among the exports to the particular countries where the armies were serving or through which their stores passed. From the economic point of view this throws together two very different things; and the same may be said of the inclusion among exports of the stores shipped to the Greenland and other distant fisheries, which were sent for consumption by Englishmen only temporarily absent from home.<sup>2</sup>

Before we pass on to questions of value, one separate statistical point may be mentioned. Within the period of these figures there falls the change of the English (not the Scottish) calendar from the Julian to the Gregorian style.<sup>3</sup> The year 1752, in which the change took place, was therefore eleven days shorter than a normal leap-year. Ought we therefore, in comparing the trade of this and other years, to make an allowance of some 3 per cent for the loss of working days in September 1752? If the trade had come in regularly in equal daily instalments it would clearly be necessary to do this. If, on the other hand, this abbreviated year contained a full annual cycle of trade with each country, it would clearly be unnecessary. The fact falls somewhere between these two extremes, but in all probability very much nearer the second than the first. Trade was, in many of its chief branches, seasonal, and with every country it followed so much an annual course that it is safe to leave this small chronological irregularity out of account.

The sterling values assigned to the goods exported and imported were of essential importance for the compilers, because they were the basis of all the calculations of the balance of trade. It is unlikely that modern historians will wish to make much use of these calculations, or to revise them, so that for them the use of the figures of value must be much more restricted. They will serve as a convenient means of making a summary comparison when it is desired to group together various commodities of which the quantities are reckoned by different standards of measurement. Thus it is simpler to describe the fluctuations of woollen exports in money than to give the numbers of short cloths and Spanish cloths, double bays, Colchester bays, perpetuanas, says, serges, worsted stuffs. We have, however, already seen abundant reasons for distrusting the inspector-general's figures of values. In the smaller group of commodities—'goods at value'—for which the merchants' valuations are given,

<sup>1</sup> Whitworth, *State of the Trade of Great Britain*, p. liii. See also below, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 71, where this point is mentioned together with exports to the colonies and exports for roundabout trade in their bearing on the balance of trade.

<sup>3</sup> In practice the change took place at the same date in Ireland: the Irish Statute of 1781-2 (21-22 Geo. III, c. 48, s. 3) merely authorised what had been done a generation before.

imports were undervalued, in order that less duty might be demanded, so that for these goods the error from the under-entry of quantities is probably exaggerated in the figures of values.<sup>1</sup> For exports which were liable to duty the temptation would equally be to undervalue ; but a number of commodities were freed from export duties during the period. In the very much larger group of commodities to which the official valuations apply, we are at the mercy of these valuations. It is certainly not over-cautious to say that they can never be accepted as even approximately accurate without independent confirmation. Those originally fixed by Culliford may or may not have been reasonably close to current prices ; the changes made by him and by Martin must have brought them nearer to the current prices as they changed from time to time ; but under Davenant, and after him except for the very limited adjustments of Martin, there was a growing divergence which at last became very great.

After the end of our period there were various attempts to compare the official values generally with the current values. In 1798 an Act of Parliament called the Convoy Act<sup>2</sup> imposed new duties, with an obligation on merchants to declare the values of certain classes of goods for which this had not previously been necessary, and Irving made a comparison of the values so declared with the official values from the passing of the Act down to 1805.<sup>3</sup> John Marshall, the leading government statistician a generation later, made some comparisons of the official values with actual prices. He thought that the official values originally accorded with the current values, but that, with certain exceptions like coffee and indigo, most prices had fallen in the meantime.<sup>4</sup> During our period, however, although everyone knew that the official values became obsolete, no one seems to have attempted even such a general estimate as this of the direction of the change. We have already seen the reasons for this. It must now be asked whether it would be possible or useful for the modern historian to substitute any tables of real values for the official values.

The answer to this question must be that from Culliford's death onwards for all other commodities, and from Martin's time for woollen exports, the official values may be disregarded in any attempt to find the monetary value of imports or exports whether generally or of particular commodities. For such attempts it is necessary to go to the direct information on the history of prices which we get in business archives or in works like Thorold Rogers's *History of Agriculture and Prices* or the series of price-histories now being promoted by an international committee. From these we may obtain multipliers which will give the money value of the commodities entered in the inspector-general's books ; but this calculation will be entirely independent of the official values, and there would

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 9-10. In 1724 the range of goods to be entered at value was greatly reduced.

<sup>2</sup> 38 Geo. III, c. 76.

<sup>3</sup> See Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, iv. 464.

<sup>4</sup> *Digest of all the Accounts relating to Population, etc.* (1833), pt. ii, pp. 56-62, 120a. This is the same work as his *Analysis and Compendium* of 1835.

be no advantage in regarding it as a correction of them. It appears to be impossible to invent a formula of any practicable use for converting them, from year to year, to approximate real values. Their sole use must be not in ascertaining the real values of trade, but in explaining the sterling estimates of the inspector-general's statistics themselves.

In practice there can be very little need to use them even for this purpose. In the great ledgers every entry gives the official value, the multiplier, between the quantity of goods and the product, its estimated value. In work on the ledger therefore there can never be any need to refer to a separate list of official values. This need be done only when it is desired to work back from the estimated value of commodities to the quantity, an operation which an historian might wish to carry out if he had before him some return of the inspector-general expressed in terms of money only, and if he had not access to the ledgers. For such an operation a list of the official values would be necessary. The only full list appears to be that drawn up by Irving and published in 1826 with the title 'Rates by which Official Valuation of the principal Articles Imported into and Exported from England, Scotland and Ireland, is Estimated and Valued.'<sup>1</sup> It is said to contain altogether 728 values, and was reprinted in 1849.<sup>2</sup>

There remains one further question regarding the use of these records: how far is it possible to check them by comparison with complementary foreign and colonial statistics? If they were all perfectly kept, the import and export statistics of the world would form an exactly dovetailing system of double entry. At no time have they approached this standard of agreement for the world in general, and at no time has it been possible to check off one against another without skilled interpretation. Although we have a good many sets of eighteenth-century figures from other countries which may ultimately come to be used in this way, there are few for which the necessary interpretative studies have been carried out. It may indeed be said that only one set of foreign trade statistics for the period can as yet be used with any confidence, the famous Sound Toll Registers. Considerable progress has been made with the laborious task of publishing from this source tables of the ships and cargoes of various nationalities which passed through the Sound on their way into and out of the Baltic. But there has also been much discussion among historians about the meaning of the tables. Some of the points, such as the meaning of a ship's nationality in this connexion are now settled. Some necessary defects of the tables are well understood: for instance that arising from the habit of sailing under false colours in time of war. An historian who makes use of the existing critical studies of the Registers can safely draw certain inferences from them about the quantity of trade through the Sound.

So far as I know this preliminary work has not been done for any of the numerous port-books and trade statistics of the period in other

<sup>1</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, 1826 (385), XXII. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1849 (575), L. 429. A list of 49 values for export and re-export is given by Marshall, pt. ii, p. 60.

European countries or in the overseas colonies.<sup>1</sup> If the present Guide is well conceived, it must follow that similar studies of the foreign and colonial statistics will also be useful. Until they are made, such statistics can be used as checks only with the greatest reserve. It would, therefore, serve no immediately useful purpose to attempt any kind of list of comparable foreign statistics.<sup>2</sup> In working on the figures of British trade with any other country, the historian will naturally look into the materials available on the other side, but he must be prepared to leave discrepancies largely unexplained.

There are two instances so near home that they must be treated in outline here, those of Ireland and Scotland. Ireland was treated by British commercial policy in a special way, neither in the same way as Great Britain nor in the same way as the colonies. In protecting British industry, British parliaments treated Irish competition, with some exceptions, as if it were foreign competition, but at the same time, until the period of Irish legislative independence from 1782, subjected it to direct control by British legislation. On the other hand, even before the period of legislative independence, the Irish parliament maintained its own tariff, and, where British interests were not involved, was able to pass some measures of mercantilist protection. Ireland had its own board of customs. Sometimes the actions of this board were dictated by British Acts of Parliament,<sup>3</sup> but normally its administration was independent. From the point of view of customs statistics, Ireland was a foreign country. It appears as one of the countries of destination for exports in the inspector-general's books. Now the history of Irish trade statistics has a general similarity to that of English trade statistics. In the time of Charles II there were estimates but they were known to be unsatisfactory. Sir William Petty wrote 'that the Exportations appear more worth than the Importations, excepting that the Accounts of the former are more true, but of the latter very conjectural, and probably less than the Truth.'<sup>4</sup> From 1698 ledgers of imports and exports were kept on the same general lines as those of the London inspectors-general. A hundred and forty volumes of these, running down to 1829, have found their way to the Public Record Office from the London Custom House.<sup>5</sup> They

<sup>1</sup> Much material for the purpose can, of course, be gathered from the works on the economic history of each country; and there are some useful, though not exhaustive, studies, such as that of Lohmann for France (see above, p. ix, n. 1). When the present work was in the final proof there appeared the important *Svensk Handelsstatistik, 1637-1737* of B. Boëthius and E. F. Heckscher.

<sup>2</sup> The *Journal of the Board of Trade* contains entries of the receipt of copies of trade returns from consuls abroad. The originals are preserved among the papers of the board, and should be consulted in any attempt to work out the statistical grounds for changes in British commercial policy.

<sup>3</sup> See, for an instance, p. 46, below.

<sup>4</sup> *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1691), p. 92. For a number of tables of Irish trade from 1665 onwards see the papers of Abraham Hill, a member of the English board of trade, in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 2902. There appear from fos. 135 ff. to have been annual returns of all exports from 1682.

<sup>5</sup> Customs 15. These are referred to in H. Wood, *Guide to the Public Records of Ireland* (1919), p. 293. From the absence of any other reference in that work I infer that there are no duplicates in official custody in Dublin.

have been used since the eighteenth century as a control on the English figures of trade with Ireland; but it was early remarked that there are difficulties in so using them. Unhappily they are based on different scales of official values.<sup>1</sup> How they were affected by all the other sources of error which we have noticed in the English books is a matter for separate investigation, which must be cleared up before any precise comparison is possible.

Scotland also, before the Union of 1707, was a foreign country for purposes of commercial policy, even more completely than Ireland, and consequently also for commercial statistics. It appears as a separate heading in the inspector-general's books down to the year ending at Christmas 1707. After the Union fourteen commissioners of customs were appointed for Great Britain, seven to reside in London, five at Edinburgh, and two to attend the out-ports. As no individual commissioners were named for either London or Edinburgh or the out-ports, they took turns at the different stations until 1742, when it became the practice to appoint five commissioners for Scotland by name. We have already seen that the Scottish ports did not supply material to the inspector-general,<sup>2</sup> and the Public Record Office series of Scottish ledgers does not begin until 1755.<sup>3</sup> It provides not a check on the English figures but a supplement to them. There do not appear to be in London, Scottish figures giving either the like supplement for the period 1708-54, or an independent check (good or bad) for 1696-1707. Nor are there among the Customs Papers at the General Register House in Edinburgh any ledgers or tables of imports and exports. For the period between 1696 and 1707 there are no Customs Accounts which give details of imports and exports; from 1707 there are General Accounts and Cash Accounts of the Commissioners of Customs and the Auditors' Books of the Comptroller General of Customs, but these do not differentiate between imports and exports. From 1742 the Port Books for each Scottish port are extant, and can be used in the same way as the English Port Books.<sup>4</sup>

The general outcome of this criticism of the British trade statistics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may appear discouraging. Much minute preliminary work is necessary if correct conclusions of any importance are to be extracted from them, and it may therefore seem that their value as historical authorities is small. Such an inference would be unjustified. The points that have been mentioned are merely directions for effective work, not warnings against expecting useful results. Provided these points are attended to, and conclusions are not expressed with greater precision and assurance than the materials justify, the course of trade and of trade

but the National Library of Ireland has a set running from 1771 to 1823. On 12 January 1698 Culliford attended the board of customs with his accounts from Ireland for the year 1697 (Custom House, Notes and Extracts, i, s.v. 'Inspector General of Imports and Exports').

<sup>1</sup> John Baker Holroyd, Lord Sheffield, *Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland*, 3rd ed. (1785), p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Customs 14.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 52. For the above information about the records in his charge I am indebted to Mr. William Angus, Keeper of the Registers and Records of Scotland.

policy may be understood much more clearly from these materials than without them. Some of the rash arguments drawn from them in the past were worthless for lack of proper care, but they may be corrected. Some of the applications of them which are now being attempted are very ambitious—for instance, the attempt to study business cycles in these materials—but there is no reason in the nature of the case why they should not be fruitful. The limits of the use of these materials cannot be laid down in anticipation ; they can be discovered only when research, testing each step, finds a point at which investigation ceases to yield a result.



## THE BILLS OF ENTRY

We have seen that the inspector-general obtained his information about the trade of the port of London, though not of the out-ports, in the form of copies of the 'bills' for imports, exports and re-exports. These bills of entry were primarily intended for administrative use, but they were not confidential documents, and from a date earlier than the foundation of the inspector-general's office their contents were available to the public, so that it was possible for private persons to prepare independent statistics for London, which should have given identical figures with the inspector-general's for the quantities of goods imported or exported.

The method by which this information was made public changed several times. Before 1660 it appears to have been permitted to a customs official called the clerk of the bills to impart it in return for payments.<sup>1</sup> By letters patent of 1660 a London merchant, afterwards knighted as Sir Andrew King, received a grant of the office of clerk of the bills in the Custom Houses of England and Wales. This gave him an exclusive right of access to all official documents connected with the customs reports and entries, and of obtaining and publishing any portion of the information they contained.<sup>2</sup> The earliest Bill of Entry preserved at the Custom House is an isolated specimen bearing no heading except the date 'June 30 1660' and the number 5, which perhaps indicates that it was the fifth issued under King's auspices. King was given the office, which had also been called the 'usher office' on an annual rental of £6 13s. 4d., and in consideration of his losses and services in the royal cause before the Restoration. After his death his executors appointed Nathaniel Long their deputy for the office, and he was confirmed in his exclusive right when some of the customs clerks tried to issue printed bills in competition.<sup>3</sup> So late as 1872 the patent, after successive renewals, was held by the trustees of the Customs Benevolent Fund. Even at that date, although the office had a local habitation at the London Custom House and was more or less intimately connected with those at the other ports, it was not entirely under the authority of the customs department. It published for London and many of the larger ports daily Bills of Entry, lists of ships arriving and clearing, with particulars of their cargoes, etc., which had a large sale. In addition, it supplied other information in manuscript for moderate charges. Before 1880 the patent expired, but the arrangement was even then continued for a time

<sup>1</sup> Mr. E. Hughes, in a review in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, li. 340, says that this 'had been a valuable perquisite of the Custom house clerks until they had been robbed of it by the ubiquitous patentee.'

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. of State Papers Dom.*, 1660-1, pp. 38, 137; 1673-5, p. 348; 1675-6, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1680-1, p. 496.



before the commissioners took this work into their own hands.<sup>1</sup> They still carry it on.

During the period with which we are concerned, there were attempts to publish periodical returns of the trade of London based on these daily bills. The economic journalist, John Houghton, after an interval of about ten years, published the figures for some months of 1682-3,<sup>2</sup> and began a new series of annual figures of shipping alone from 1692, which he kept up until 1695.<sup>3</sup> In 1777 Sir Charles Whitworth's attention was fastened on the Bills of Entry, and he began to publish from these a quarterly *Register of the Trade of the Port of London*. The first number gave a table, arranged under countries, giving day by day for each place within the country, imports, exports and re-exports in quantities of goods by species. After this came lists giving day by day ships entered inwards and cleared outwards, with the names of the masters and destinations and the total number of ships for each place. The preface promised that Whitworth would shortly fill up the 'chasm' between this new publication and his *State of the Trade of Great Britain*, which stopped in 1773, and of which this was meant to be a continuation. True the former work was for the whole of Great Britain (he should have said England), while this was only for London; but he remarked, somewhat airily for a statistician, 'the proportion which the Trade of London bears to the whole Trade of the Kingdom, has, I believe, been calculated at three fourths.'

Whether because the sales were disappointing, or because it infringed the rights of the patentees, or because Whitworth's health failed—he died in the following year—this periodical seems to have had a run of only two numbers, covering between them, in more than 300 pages, the period from January to June 1776. With these exceptions there do not seem to have been publications giving the contents of the Bills of Entry for more than a day at a time. The publication of the daily bills is, however, a very curious fact. It was not, indeed, peculiar to London. There was a similar practice in the seventeenth century at Marseilles.<sup>4</sup> In England we have already seen that the merchants tried to deceive one another by making false entries, and that public authorities were anxious not to injure trade by disclosing too much. It is therefore not surprising to find a writer in the time of Charles II maintaining that the publication of daily bills giving the imports and exports with the merchants' names, quantities and places was very prejudicial to merchants because it made their 'mystery' known, for instance by telling everyone what goods were fit for what places.<sup>5</sup> Martin made another point in his 'Observations' of 1717/8. It was bad to tell foreign nations how much they bought from England, and worse to let them believe that their imports were larger than was actually the case.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. Bourne, *Trade, Population and Food* (1880), p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, i. 153, 169.

<sup>3</sup> *Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* (a different periodical, weekly).

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library*, ed. J. R. Tanner, iii (1914), 390. The passage is, however, not quite free from ambiguity and may refer to Leghorn.

<sup>5</sup> J. Vernon, *Compleat Comptinghouse* (1678), pp. 197-8. <sup>6</sup> p. 68, below.

## THE GENERAL REGISTERS OF SHIPPING

Another administrative office from which statistics of shipping were supplied to the commissioners of customs and through them to parliament was that of the general register of shipping. This also was a branch of the customs, but it was unconnected with the inspectors of imports and exports. Its information was acquired independently, and it was concerned only with the numbers, tonnage, nationality and other particulars of ships, not with their cargoes. The department underwent some changes in the year 1696, the year in which Culliford was appointed inspector-general, and this was more than a coincidence, for these changes arose from the commercial crisis and the efforts of parliament and the government to cope with it; but the two offices remained separate and independent. The register of shipping made shipping statistics possible as a by-product, but it was intended for quite other purposes.

In different countries registration of ships was undertaken at different times, in different ways, and for different reasons. Its development in Holland, the greatest shipping nation of the early seventeenth century, has been fully studied,<sup>1</sup> and proves to have been conditioned mainly by the requirements of the law of neutrality in times of war. As the Dutch found themselves obliged or empowered by international law and treaties to treat their own ships in certain ways and those of other states, belligerent or neutral, in other ways, so they worked out in their own law the principles which decided what entitled a ship to be regarded as a Dutch ship, and in doing so they provided themselves with lists of such ships. There was a complex general growth of sea-law in Europe, and there was also a special growth of law in relation to the Barbary states, which were outside the European system, but which also required to know which ships they must regard as friendly and which they might attack and seize. Both these two bodies of law affected the English much as they affected the Dutch. The application of the idea of nationality to English ships in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was influenced by them, though, in the absence of any detailed legal study, we do not yet know how it was so influenced. It appears, however, that in England the main lines of development were dictated by two other factors, one of which did not exist for the Dutch.

The first of these factors was that of naval requirements. In the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century naval fighting was

<sup>1</sup> By Dr. F. J. W. H. Sandbergen in his dissertation *Nederlandsche en nederlandsch-indische scheepsnationaliteit* (s.a. ? 1932).

mainly done by merchant ships collected together when a fleet was needed; the government therefore from time to time made up lists of ships belonging to various ports. We have a number of these lists from the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.<sup>1</sup> By about the middle of the seventeenth century, as the line of battle came to consist only of ships built specially for fighting, such comprehensive information about merchant ships was no longer needed for the navy. The admiralty still required from time to time to know what ships were available for transport services, for carrying troops or stores, and it required to know the number of seamen who might be pressed for the king's service; but of the general body of merchant shipping it wanted to know only what ships would need naval protection on the various trade-routes. Thus, although the records of the admiralty still contained a good deal of commercial information, they did not contain anything like lists of all English ships.

It happened, however, that about the same time a great change in English commercial policy brought with it a new need for the registration of ships. This was the change by which the modern series of navigation laws was inaugurated, and it was a change which had no parallel in Holland. The Ordinances of 1651 and the Navigation Act of 1660 reserved certain kinds of trade with English ports and those of the plantations to English ships. They contained definitions of what constituted an English ship; but it was necessary for their enforcement not only to know what were the qualifications for the privileges of an English ship, but which actual ships had these qualifications. If a ship was registered as such, the officials of the ports, once it was identified, could let it come and go freely; if it were not, they might be defrauded unless they investigated its history every time it reported or cleared.

The Navigation Act of 1660 did not fully satisfy this need. It did not require the registration of ships built in England or the plantations and engaged in the plantation trade: for these, certificates and oaths were enough to clear the way for loading or the discharge of goods. Only for one special class of ships did the Act order a register to be kept, namely for foreign-built ships of English owners; though it is said that the Surveyor of the Act of Navigation at the Custom House kept a register of all vessels of English build from this time.<sup>2</sup> The English owners of foreign-built ships were to take an oath before the customs officers of the port next to the place of their abode, declaring amongst other things that no foreigner had directly or indirectly any part, share or interest in the ship, whereupon certificates were to be issued to them, and the customs officers were to keep a register of all such certificates, and to return duplicates of these registers for England and Wales to the Custom House in London and for Ireland to the Custom House in Dublin.<sup>3</sup> Among the measures taken in the parlia-

<sup>1</sup> For instance the register of the merchant ships of England in 1572 in *State Papers Domestic*, Addenda, 15/22; and the list for the early part of James I's reign used by R. G. Marsden in *Royal Hist. Soc. Transactions*, New Ser., xvii. 309 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. Anderson, *Deduction of the Origin of Commerce*, ii (1787). 454, where 'British' is an anachronism.

<sup>3</sup> 12 Car. II, c. 18, sec. x.

mentary sessions of 1695-6 for tightening the administration of the navigation laws was a clause in an Act which extended this system to ships built in England, Wales, Ireland, the Channel Islands or the plantations, and engaged in the plantation trade. This provision was to take effect in 1698, and the duplicate registers were to be returned only to London, including those for Irish ships.<sup>1</sup> In the reign of George II a similar provision was made for a register of British and Irish vessels exporting wool.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in George III's reign the registration system of 1696 was extended to every ship having a deck or of the burthen of fifteen tons and upwards belonging to British subjects.<sup>3</sup>

Side by side with the registration of ships and the keeping of lists of ships registered, there also grew up for the purposes of the navigation laws the preparation of lists of the movements of ships. Thus a statute of Charles II ordered the governors or commanders-in-chief of the plantations once a year at least to return to the London customs officers a list of all such ships as should carry away cargoes of the 'enumerated' commodities.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of this was stated to be the prevention of infractions of the law, by which these commodities were to be carried only to English ports, and not to those of the continent of Europe; but these returns could easily be used for shipping statistics. The commissioners of customs seem from an early date to have collected information about the movements of ships on their own initiative and at least partly in order to watch the general operation and effects of the navigation laws. When the commissioners replied to the enquiries of the house of lords committee on the state of trade in 1696/7, they were able to provide figures going back to Michaelmas 1692 of the numbers of English and foreign ships entered at and cleared from London and the out-ports, and there is no reason to think that they could not have gone back further if it had been asked of them. In their letter of 16 February, sent with the accounts of imports and exports for 1692-5,<sup>5</sup> they said that they had caused this information 'to be extracted from the General Register of Shipping, which is kept by a clerk appointed by us for that purpose.' They also said that they had directed that the accounts of imports and exports which were to be kept for the future should 'be kept in such a method as to distinguish the quality of the shipping.'<sup>6</sup>

They did not, however, charge the inspector-general with this duty. A separate officer had the title of 'general register of shipping'. He was appointed by patent throughout the period with which we are concerned, not, like most of the inspectors-general, by 'Constitution' of the customs commissioners. His duties were

<sup>1</sup> 7-8 W. III, c. 22, secs. xvii-xviii.

<sup>2</sup> 12 Geo. II, c. 21, sec. vii.

<sup>3</sup> 26 Geo. III, c. 60, for the records in the out-ports kept under this Act see *First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records*, vol. ii, pt. ii (1914), pp. 242-8. According to R. Stewart-Brown, *Liverpool Ships in the Eighteenth Century*, the Liverpool series begins in 1739.

<sup>4</sup> 22 and 23 Car. II, c. 26, sec. xii.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *House of Lords Papers*, ii. 419-21.

lighter,<sup>1</sup> and so he had a lower salary and a smaller establishment of clerks; but the holders of the office were not persons of less consequence than the inspectors-general. From 1697 it was held for more than twenty years by Charles Godolphin, who was also a commissioner of customs and latterly first in the commission. A treasury warrant of 13 May 1702 recites that by a clause in the customs commission one of the commissioners, Charles Godolphin, is directed to keep a general register of all ships trading to, from, or coastways in the kingdom, and to examine the reports and contents of all ships entering and clearing in the outports that the same be duly sworn to and attested, and the ships regularly manned and the entries fairly checked. It allows certain bills for furniture and stationery, from which it appears that the office was begun or re-organised at this time, and it fixes the allowances of five clerks to be employed there, three for part of their time and the other two for the whole.<sup>2</sup> Godolphin's successor Robert Pringle,<sup>3</sup> had served King William as under-secretary of state for Scotland and had been for a short time secretary at war under George I. The list of the general registers, with their salaries and establishments is as follows:—

	Charles Godolphin	£500	3	clerks, £160
	"	"	17	John Burgoyne deputy and 3 other clerks £650
			1717	3 clerks £190 <sup>4</sup>
1723	Robert Pringle	"	"	"
			1726	5 " "
1736	Thomas Boothby Skrym- shire <sup>5</sup>	"	"	"
1741	John Eckersall <sup>6</sup>	"	"	"
1759 <sup>7</sup>	Peter Shaw, M.D., and Peter Shaw his son	"	"	"

Godolphin during the greater part of his period of office, discharged his duties. In 1711 he wrote a letter which gives the useful information that there was no other general register of English shipping except that kept in his office. By the Act of Union all Scottish-owned ships were to be deemed of British build, and, from a register to be drawn up by the officers of the customs in Edinburgh, they were to be entered on the general register in London. The lord treasurer had obtained the queen's warrant for registering the Scottish ships and 235 certificates had been transmitted from

<sup>1</sup> The Notes and Extracts for 31 July and 3 December 1733 show that he was called upon to report on the working of the system of coast-bonds (see below, p. 52), but there seems to be no trace of other special reports to the commissioners of customs.

<sup>2</sup> The bills amounted to £54 12s. 5½d. The part-time clerks were Alexander Trevethan, Euclid Speidell and William Denne, who were to have £20 a year each; the others Albion Thompson and John Burgoyne at £50 each. All had been employed since the previous Christmas, except Burgoyne, who had served only six weeks in the last quarter (T. 11/14, p. 182).

<sup>3</sup> See *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

<sup>4</sup> T. 42/2.

<sup>5</sup> Custom House, Notes and Extracts, ii, s.v. 'General Register of Shipping,' 25 October 1736.

<sup>6</sup> Formerly receiver-general and cashier of the customs (T. 11/23, p. 320), died 1759 (T. 11/26, p. 41). The Notes and Extracts, *loc. cit.*, give the date as 26 March 1748.

<sup>7</sup> T. 42/2 gives 30 August 1749 as the date.

Edinburgh; the proofs of 149 being found satisfactory and of 86 defective. Godolphin had prepared a clause for passing into law to regulate this matter;<sup>1</sup> but it does not appear to have been enacted. By a warrant of 20 April 1710, however, the treasury had authorised the payment of an annual sum from the proceeds of the customs in Scotland to be expended by Charles Godolphin for a clerk employed by him with reference to Scotland. This arrangement was continued on each occasion when a new general register was appointed.<sup>2</sup>

The appointment of John Burgoyne as Godolphin's deputy may indicate that his office, like that of the inspector-general, was becoming a sinecure; and Pringle may have been a sinecurist from the first. At any rate from some date in the eighteenth century the general registers were sinecurists. The commissioners of public accounts were told in 1785: 'The Register General executes no part of the business of his office.' The account of these duties given in evidence to the commissioners may be quoted in full. 'In this Office are entered the Registers of all Ships trading to the *British* Plantations, and all Ships and Vessels entered from or cleared out to Foreign Ports at the Port of *London*, specifying, among other Things, the Number of Tons, and the Number of Men, and distinguishing the Foreign from the *British* Ships. The Collectors and Controllers at the Out Ports transmit every Quarter to this Office Lists of the Ships both *British* and Foreign, trading to and from each Port during the Quarter with the like Distinctions, and specifying also the Quantities of certain Enumerated Goods: They send also Two Annual Accounts—One of the Number of Ships belonging to the Port, with the Total Tonnage, and repeated Voyages. The Surveyor at each Out Port transmits a Quarterly Account of all Goods landed from and shipped to Foreign Ports during the Quarter, and of the Quantity of Coals, Culm, and Cinders landed there. From these Entries and Lists an abstract is made out every Year of the Number of Ships, *British* and Foreign, trading to and from each Port in Great Britain, and to and from each Foreign Port during the Year, with the Number of Tons.'<sup>3</sup>

From this point the history of the office is obscure. It seems likely that it was a predecessor of the present General Register of Shipping and Seamen, which is a department of the board of trade and is housed in a building of its own on Tower Hill. The official view appears indeed to be that that department was created by an Act of 1835,<sup>4</sup> but it has, or recently had, records going back to 1747, which were held to have 'drifted' into it. Some at least of these were probably records kept under the legislation of George II about seamen's wages and agreements;<sup>5</sup> but the fact that the duplicate registers of ships were kept along with these suggests,

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1708-14*, cxxxii. 12. The clause in the Act of Union is 6 Anne, c. 11, sec. v.

<sup>2</sup> T. 11/16, p. 248; 21, p. 228; 23, p. 309; 26, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> J. Lane, *Reports of the Commissioners of Public Accounts*, iii (1787), p. 431, Examination of Mr. James Turner, 25 and 27 May 1785. For the return of the establishment of the office made to these commissioners, see below, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> 5 and 6 W. IV, c. 19.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Geo. II, c. 36.

what the name of the office almost implies, that from some date between 1785 and 1835 the register of ships had come under the same roof with the seamen's records. Whatever the reason may be, the register itself and the papers of the office which kept it seem to have disappeared for the whole period from its beginning to 1835.<sup>1</sup> As early as 1782 its records for London for the period from 1709, if not earlier, to 1744 seem to have been lost.<sup>2</sup> Its work can be known only from documents which it sent out and which are consequently preserved elsewhere.

These are far less in quantity than those sent out by the inspectors-general of imports and exports. When the new beginning in trade statistics was made, a retrospective table, not complete for the last year, was laid before parliament giving the number of ships, English and foreign, entered inwards and cleared outwards in London and the out-ports in each year from Michaelmas 1692 to Michaelmas 1696 with their estimated tonnage.<sup>3</sup> Similar tables are available for a number of other years, but it does not appear that there were returns to parliament in every year.<sup>4</sup> Some of the figures collected by the general registers were made available to the public: thus in 1756 William Maitland published in his *Survey of London* the London figures for 1732.<sup>5</sup> An ex-commissioner of customs fortunately bequeathed to the British Museum in 1800 two volumes of tables sent to him from the office. One of them contains a covering letter relating to some such documents, in which the assistant register-general says: 'As you did not direct the Register General to lay the same before the Board I presume you meant that both copies were to be sent to you.'<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting to see that a commissioner of customs might receive information in this way for his own use, though it may have been for use in the public service. Although the materials are scanty, we seem indeed to have adequate knowledge of the method of the office. The commissioners of customs occasionally made special grants to the clerks for special work. On two occasions they dealt with the delays in rendering information to the office, and on the latter of these their order was made on the same day and in the same terms as an order relating to the inspector-general of exports and imports.<sup>7</sup> The records of the general register did not include any figures for king's ships or troop-transports since these did not enter or clear at the customs.<sup>8</sup> Nor did they include arrivals of ships in ballast, which caused a considerable discrepancy between the inward and outward figures of Newcastle, Sunderland,

<sup>1</sup> The facts are to be found in the *Second Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Records* (1914), vol. ii, pt. i, p. 12; pt. ii, pp. 35-6; pt. iii, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 11256, where I take the date 7 October 1772 to be a mistake for 1782.

<sup>3</sup> *House of Lords Papers*, New Ser., ii. 420-1.

<sup>4</sup> Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, iii. 340, n. f.

<sup>5</sup> For 1742-3, 1746-7 and 1748-9 see M. Postlethwayt, *Commercial Dictionary*, s.v. 'Navigation.'

<sup>6</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 11256, p. 53, J. Dalley to Sir William Musgrave, 21 Jan. 1782. Musgrave was a commissioner of customs from 1763 to 1785. The other manuscript is Add. MS. 11255.

<sup>7</sup> Notes and Extracts, *loc. cit.*: the date in question is 8 Dec. 1742, for which see above, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Add. MS. 11256, fo. 53v.



and Whitehaven, to which colliers returned in ballast from Holland and Ireland. Probably there were similar discrepancies in some of the western ports.<sup>1</sup> Vessels engaged in the coasting trade were distinguished from those trading with foreign ports, and in some returns there were omitted from the class of coasters 'ships employed in carrying coals, lime, chalk, and manure, also fishing vessels as far as the same can be excluded.' Two tables of coasters for 1772-81 give none for the port of London, and one of them explains this with the note: 'no coasters belong to this port.'

There are two features of these statistics which easily give rise to misunderstandings. In the first place, in some of the tables the purpose is to estimate rather the quantity of the shipping belonging to each port than the amount of carrying done. Thus, although some of the tables allow for every entry and clearance,<sup>2</sup> others give figures 'accounting each vessel but once.'<sup>3</sup> None of them, however, seems to allow for vessels which were absent from their ports for a whole year.<sup>4</sup> The other catch is in the figures of tonnage. These are all mere estimates, formed by multiplying the numbers of ships by conventional, standardised, figures of average tonnages for each trade. Thus in the retrospective table for 1692-6, the English ships in the port of London are estimated at 112 tons each, the foreign ships there at 125, the English ships in the out-ports at 72 tons, the foreign at 98. Experts in the history of merchant shipping may be able to discover whether these estimates were approximately right, and whether there was a gradual divergence as time went on between the estimated and the true tonnages. By the end of our period there was certainly a large gap. Dalley, the assistant register-general, appended this note to a return for 1760: 'The above is the best account that can be prepared, according to the modes then in use of ascertaining the tunnage of vessels, which was seldom done by actual admeasurement.' The historian Macpherson added: 'The real tunnage may in general be reckoned full fifty per cent. above the reputed.'<sup>5</sup>

There are other irregularities which are noted on the tables themselves. In one year, for instance, the retrospective table omits all ships trading into and out of Newcastle. Of these other irregularities all that need be said is that they must be watched and if possible allowed for, in any attempts to draw comparisons from the shipping figures. As to the general value of such comparisons, it seems necessary to say, as in the case of the figures of imports and exports, that they may be drawn much more confidently over short periods than over long. The possibility of adequate checking from foreign figures seems, here again, to be very limited until foreign figures are available of which the accuracy can be clearly ascertained.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 11256, fo. 55.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. the table of entries inwards for 1772-81 is Add. MS. 11255 'including their repeated voyages,' and that for entries and clearances 1709-79 is Add. MS. 11256.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, the first table.

<sup>4</sup> Dalley's note in Macpherson, iii. 340. This seems to imply subsequent change of system, of which, however, I know nothing.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*



## NOTE ON THE PORT BOOKS

In 1911 the Royal Commission on the Public Records inspected a huge mass of parchment Port Books which had been rotting since the late eighteenth century 'in heaps on the floor of any record room that was not wanted for a better purpose.' The commissioners at once accepted the view put before them in evidence by certain historians that these records deserved a better fate, and that they contained much valuable information not to be obtained elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Since that time they have been put in order,<sup>2</sup> and a number of historians have worked at them, undeterred by physical discomfort from malodorous dust. Their enthusiasm has been justified by results. This is not the place to estimate the value of the Port Books in general; but something must be said about their relation to the materials we have been considering, and to their value for the special purpose, for which they have already been used by a good many students, of compiling statistics.

It must in the first place be emphasised that it was not for this purpose that the Port Books were made up. They originated in 1428 in an attempt to prevent frauds on the customs. An Ordinance of that year ordered that certain parchment books, with the number of leaves that each contained indicated thereon, were to be issued under the exchequer seal to the customers and collectors at the ports. In these the officers were to enter the names of the merchants and the nature, quantity and value of all merchandise exported or imported. A more elaborate order of 1565 inaugurated the main series of the books. Each port received not one general book for each year, but a number of books for different classes of goods, for instance one for wool, woolfells and leather, one for sweet wines, the classification following that of the different items of the revenue. There were separate books for imports and exports, and for goods imported or exported by merchants denizens, these being liable for aliens duty.<sup>3</sup> One class was that of the 'Coast Books.' An exporting merchant who sent goods to another English port gave a bond for the due delivery of his goods at this port and was then allowed to ship his goods without paying duty. When he landed the goods he received a certificate which was annexed to the bond; but if he took them to a foreign port, he was liable to prosecution for evading the customs. The Coast Book contained a record of

<sup>1</sup> *First Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Records*, vol. i, pt. ii (1912), pp. 45 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The class is known as E. 190. According to Mr. E. A. Lewis some of the class called K.R. Customs Accounts appear to be Port Books which have gone adrift from their proper place: *The Welsh Port Books* (1927), p. x. There are others in the Treasury Unsorted Miscellanea.

<sup>3</sup> For a full description of the Port Books for the period of James I see Astrid Friis, *Alderman Cockayne's Project* (1927), Appendix B.

the goods carried out under bond. It was returned, like the other Port Books, into the office of the king's remembrancer of the exchequer, where revenue prosecutions were initiated. As with the Coast Books, so with the other Port Books, it is clear that the primary purpose was to keep a record of the movements of goods, if necessary for use in a prosecution, but in any case for the service of the revenue.

There is no reason to suppose that any subsequent Act or order changed the main purpose of the books; but at various times they were also used for other purposes. It is said that data from them were used in compiling the King's Remembrancer's Customs Accounts and Minister's Accounts. These were financial documents, which as we have seen, could be used only clumsily and indirectly for constructing commercial statistics. From an early date, however, there were attempts to use the Port Books for extracting commercial information. Among the London Port Books there is a list, apparently compiled from them, of ships and their masters trading between London and foreign ports between Michaelmas 1601 and Michaelmas 1602.<sup>1</sup>

The value of such calculations must depend on the soundness of their data, and this will also determine the value of the similar calculations which modern historians may make. From the time of Charles II to that of William III there were various enactments of penalties for false entries in their records by customs officers, and these prove that there were some delinquencies; but there was no general loss of confidence in the system. When Clifford was lord treasurer under Charles II he ordered that the Port Books should be returned quarterly instead of annually.

A week after the house of commons had rejected the tariff clauses of the commercial treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the Port Books attracted the attention of a committee of the house of lords, of which the chairman was the earl of Halifax, a whig financier and also something of an authority on the public records.<sup>2</sup> The committee found the books even then 'in the greatest Disorder and Confusion' and interrupted by various gaps. Nevertheless, they formed a high opinion of the possible value of the books for statistical purposes. When they reported, the house of lords addressed to the queen a request that they might be placed and kept in such order as might render them most useful for her majesty's service. In reply to this they were told by Lord Treasurer Harley that directions had already been given more than a year earlier for putting the books in order, and an able person appointed with a salary for the purpose. This would appear to be an allusion to the creation of the office of 'inspector and examiner of the books of the patent and other officers in the ports of England and Wales and Berwick upon Tweed.' For the foundation of this office the motive seems to have been fiscal:

<sup>1</sup> L. R. Miller in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, xli (1927), 740 ff. This interesting article unfortunately seems to confuse tons burthen with weight of cargo, and to ignore the possibility of conventionally standardised entries. The port of Camphire, which Mr. Miller fails to identify, is Veere in Zeeland; Preston is in England, not Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> For the appointment and proceedings of the committee see *Lords Journals*, xix. 586, 606-7, 612; *House of Lords Papers*, viii. 29-30.

at any rate in the Constitution of a later holder it is stated to be 'to the intent that recourse may be there had for the service of the revenue.'<sup>1</sup> The committee of 1713 also asked for an extract from the Port Books of the value of the trade between England and France in the two years ending respectively at Michaelmas 1663 and Michaelmas 1666. The former is one of the years covered by the manuscript table of London commerce which we have noticed as having passed through Davenant's hands; and the whole incident must have some connexion with the French trade controversy, but it would be difficult to say exactly what the connexion can have been. This request for an extract was not followed by any regular use of the Port Books for statistical purposes. They were probably affected by the decadence of customs administration in the eighteenth century; at any rate the commissioners of public accounts of 1782 reported very unfavourably on their accuracy and value.<sup>2</sup>

In 1797 the house of commons finance committee recommended their discontinuance as 'of no practical possible utility to the public' and a 'needless expense.' They were finally discontinued by Treasury Order of 14 March 1799.

If the Port Books had always been kept with a reasonable degree of accuracy, and if those now existing formed complete series, they would provide all the materials from which full statistics of imports and exports could be compiled. The task of compilation would be very great, greater than was the work of the inspector-general's office in making up its ledgers from the materials supplied to it; but its only important difficulty would be this of mere magnitude. Unfortunately these favourable conditions are not present. In the first place, the evidence of the commissioners of public accounts cannot be lightly set aside. They had excellent means of knowing the truth, and their conclusion seems to be confirmed by such examination of the latest Port Books as I have made. In the absence of strong arguments to the contrary, it must be held that in the late eighteenth century the Port Books formed very imperfect records; nor have we at present any idea from what distance in the past this state of things had existed. In the second place, the surviving Port Books do not form complete series. The worst deficiency is for the Port of London, which was far more important than all the out-ports put together. From 1565 to 1696 the London Port Books show occasional gaps, eight of a single year, and more serious interruptions at the critical periods 1644-8, 1652-6, 1658-9. But with 1696, the very year in which the ledgers begin, the London Port Books stop short. After that year only a few survive; for 1716 there is the book for imports by merchants strangers, and for 1769 there is that for exports by them. Others may be recovered from other classes of the public records, but at present that is all.

There is, then, no possibility of attempting general trade statistics on the basis of the Port Books, except for the period from 1565 to

<sup>1</sup> T. 11/26, p. 449, Constitution of Heneage Legg.

<sup>2</sup> [J. Lane], *Reports of the Commissioners of Public Accounts*, iii. (1787). 563 ff.

1696, which lies almost wholly outside that covered by the present volume. For that earlier period there is not indeed a single port which presents a complete set of books. The nearest approach to continuity is in the minor port of Chichester (with its members, Folkestone, Hythe, Romney, Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings, Pevensey, Matching, Lewes, New Shoreham, Arundel, and Littlehampton), but even here fourteen years are blank. In every port the gaps between 1640 and 1660 are very bad. Statisticians could, however, if the attempt were considered worth making, by interpolating estimates for the missing figures, produce from these materials some approximation to the total quantities of imports and exports entered in the Port Books. It would, of course, be easier to work out totals for individual commodities or groups of commodities, and perhaps for their *provenances* and destinations, though some at least of the earlier Port Books give little information on the latter points.

Where we have both Port Books and the inspector-general's figures, that is to say for London in 1695-7 and for the out-ports (in spite of gaps) down to 1799, a careful comparison between the two sets of figures might yield interesting results. If, for instance, it were found that for one or more commodities imported in any particular period the Port Books showed lower figures than the ledgers, it would seem reasonable to conclude that the Port Books gave a less complete record. On the other hand, if they showed higher figures in exports which were not liable to duty, this would set a puzzle for which, even with our knowledge of the prevalence of over-entries for exports, it does not seem possible to offer a solution beforehand. We do not in fact know enough about the way in which the Port Books were made up to be sure how far they represent the trade that was actually carried on. To use them as a check on the ledgers therefore, would, at present, be attempting to correct an authority of dubious value by one of which the value is even less clearly ascertained. If the two were to coincide, that would not necessarily confirm the value of either; it might merely show that they were both derived from the same faulty sources. If they were to diverge, we should have to analyse the discrepancy in order to find out, if possible, how it arose. Until the critical study of the Port Books has been materially advanced it will be premature to say whether they will enable us to correct the figures of the ledgers.

There remain, however, certain purposes for which the Port Books supply information which never came to the inspector-general's office. Even for these purposes they seem to require very careful handling, and especially some judgment ought to be formed as to whether they deteriorated in the eighteenth century, or earlier. If they did, their value for comparing one period with another will be correspondingly diminished; but they will still remain valuable for dealing with the state of trade within each period. The first of these purposes is that of studying the coastwise trade, and it seems probable that their evidence for this very important trade, with its apparatus of bonds, was more scrupulously set down than that for foreign trade. In foreign trade they give information for

each port, in the technical sense of the customs, which divided up the whole coast-line of England and Wales into twenty-one ports. Even if all the quantities are wrong this is very useful, as showing what kinds of goods entered and left each port, and, although at present we do not seem to be in a position to guess at the probable proportions of error in the quantities, the figures undoubtedly tell us much about the relative importance of the ports and even about their ups and downs in the course of time. It is, however, for these limited purposes rather than as substitutes for the inspector-general's ledgers, or even as checks on them, that the Port Books will be most useful.

# APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS

## I<sup>1</sup>

(*Public Record Office*, T. 1/146.)

A LETTER FROM MR. D'AVENANT [TO LOWNDES]

*April 4th 1712.*

SIR

In a report<sup>2</sup> to the commissioners appointed to state the public accompts, which by their precept, dated the 17th July 1711, I was directed to make, concerning the present condition of trade, and which was delivered the 10th of December following, I have among other things, taken notice that from the time the outward duties upon the woollen goods exported were taken off, the merchants have made their entries of those commodities at pleasure, as well in the out ports as London; but generally they have entered greater quantities than were really exported, to carry on some mystery of trade, which though it might prove of advantage to a few persons here and there, could never be profitable to the public, in regard it must beget uncertainties in foreign marketes and sometimes an overplus of those goods and result at last in a trick of the exporters to deceive one another, at which they would not venture when the commodities had such a duty upon 'em as the merchand could not afford to play with; but to what value those over-entries might amount, I could not compute, for the proper officers, receiving no duties from thence, keep no perfect register as I can find; and large entries are frequently made when perhaps lesse quantities are shipped off, which indeed are marked in the body of the cocquets by the queen's searchers, but no distinct accompt thereof is kept, so that in free goods 'tis impossible for me to check, or correct by the searchers' books, the entries brought up to my office.

You know, sir, I have often complained to you of this practice, and of what ill consequence it may be to remaine in the dark in so material a branch of our exportation as the woollen manufacture has always been, and upon which the trade of England turns so much, nor have you been wanting in your endeavours to prevent this mischief, by offering some time since, a clause to compell the exporters under a penalty to just and true entries, which clause, for some private interest met with opposition in the house of commons and was rejected.

I have observed few laws are effectual but such as execute themselves and am affraid, that though a clause could be obtained obliging the merchant to true entries, and compelling the officers

<sup>1</sup> See p. 16, above.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Works*, v (1771). 347 ff.

to keep a true register thereof, yet if no advantage is thereby to accrue, either to the Crown or to the officers, such entries will continue to be made at random and the government will be still uncertain as to the increase or decrease of the woollen trade.

I did therefore lay before the parliament commissioners, that it was difficult to find a good reason why this small duty of 5 per cent upon the sayd exports was taken off, at a season when there was such a necessity of loading all the importations to England. That it would be well worth the consideration of the wisest heads whether this free export of the woollen goods and the bounty upon corn exported be not rather a profit to our neighbours than to the body of this kingdom, and that the duties upon the woollen goods, for the 3 last (while they paid subsidy) by a medium of the sayd 3 yeares amounted to £43,213 p. annum. I likewise layd before the sayd commissioners a distinct accompt, showing, the quantities of the woollen manufactures exported in three yeares, with the amount of the subsidy duties paid thereupon, as also the quantities of the sayd goods entered for exportation in three yeares after the sayd duties were taken off by an act passed in the 11 and 12 of his late majesty King William with a computation of what the subsidy duties would have amounted to if the same had been continued.

I farther hinted, that if these duties were layd afresh upon outward goods (which duties did not appear such a burthen as the debts of the nation might not render tolerable) they would either be a good present fund for money, or might come in aid and ease of some branch of our importation which is over taxed and that though but two and a half per cent should be layd, it would be a means to prevent the merchant from over-entries and bring upwards of £20,000 per annum to the public.

I find by my books, that the exportation of woollen goods is every year larger and larger, but at the same time 'tis obvious, that there is a general complaint all over England of wool being a drugge, so that upon the whole I am inclined to believe there may be over entries made of those commodities, not so much in the fine draperies as in the perpetuanas, serges, sayes and stuffs.

If 'tis thought of any consequence to the government to have a yearly view before 'em how the woollen manufacture stands, I cannot see how 'tis to be compassed, unlesse by some law the merchant be obliged to a regular and true entry, under a penalty, and unlesse at the same time the proper officer by the sayd act shall be directed to keep an accompt of the true quantities exported, to which the inspector general of exports and imports may have recourse, in order to check the entries when they are to be posted in his ledgers.

Such a clause in some act would in a great measure prevent this ill practice, which will render all accompts of free goods exported uncertain and our trade for woollen manufacture may slip out of our hands before we are sensible of the mischief.

But the true way to render these accompts certain would be to lay afresh some outward duty upon 'em, which in this scarcity of funds, the house of commons perhaps may hearken to.

If you judge this paper contains any thing material, and fit to

be communicated to my lord treasurer, I desire you would lay it before his lordship from

Sir

Your most humble and most obedient servant  
CHARLES D'AVENANT

## II<sup>1</sup>

(*Public Record Office, T. 1/106.*)

### PRESENTMENT TOUCHING THE DUTIES ON THREAD AND TAPE— AND HOLLAND AND GERMANY LINNEN

Customehouse London  
9th March 1707/8

To the Right Honorable the Earle  
of Godolphin Lord High Treasurer  
of Great Britain

Presentment

By the commissioners for manageing and causing to be leaved and collected her majesty's customs.

The commissioners having seen a report of Dr. Davenant, touching the dutys on linnens, wherein he thinks it incumbent upon him to differ from this board in the medium the commissioners had taken for computing the values of Hollands and narrow German linnens imported they find themselves obliged to say something more of this matter, in vindication of their former report to his lordship wherein the middle price of all Hollands-linnen usually imported into this kingdom (excepting borelaps) was computed by this board at 4s. 6d. the English ell, the doctor states it at 3s., and his reasons for it are grounded on what he finds in the books of his office at home, and on what he collected from his owne observations abroad. As to the value he finds in his books, it is acknowledged by himself, to be of the first cost abroad, and therefore as such, is not only less to be depended upon than the value here, but ought not to be taken for the value in the payment of duties, as in the present case, wherein consideration in allways had of the value of goods, at the place where they are imported, and not of the first cost only. As to what the doctor collected from his observations abroad concerning this matter, it is, that on the best enquiree he was able to make in Holland, he could not find, that they, the Dutch, had as yet altered their fabricks, so that very probably they did not shew the doctor any of their striped, spotted and flowered lawns, and cambricks, which are imported here in considerable quantitys, and sold at great prices, nor of their striped linnens for wastcoats and breeches, so that he need not apprehend they must lay aside their linnen manufactures, or want employment for their people if he had thought fitt to take notice of their new manufactures of silk and silk and cotton, in imitation of the East India prohibited goods whereby that Prohibition Act,<sup>2</sup> as it proposed the encouragement of English manufactures, will be rendered ineffectuall. But after all the doctor's reluctance for finding himself obliged to differ in opinion from this board, as to

<sup>1</sup> See p. 17, above.

<sup>2</sup> II Will. III, c. 10.



the true middle values of Hollands linnen imported, as if he had considered the matter more accurately by calculating the duty on linnens imported in English shipping (which is so nice a distinction that it is without any difference, there being none in the duty on linnens, whether in English or forain bottoms, if on English men's accompt) the decision will rest on the resolution of these two questions.

1. Whether the value of goods with respect to dutys is to be taken from the first cost abroad (as the doctor has taken it out of his books) or from the value after they are imported here.

2. Whether this value here, that is to say, in the present case the middle values of linnens imported with respect to the quantitys of the severall species may be best determined by the surveyors and landwaiters who take up and with long experience examine the goods at the waterside (and who can have no interest of their owne in this matter) or by what the doctor thinks only to be the reall truth in this weighty and nice case, as he terms it.

As to what is said of the borelaps, that the relief intended in that instance proves ineffectuall by the restrictions, borelaps are described according to the quality and fabrick of that sort of linnefi at that time, when ease was first desired for the entry of them *ad valorem*, and it was necessary to determine their breadth and price in the Act, that other linnens of a different price and breadth, might not be admitted to entry *ad valorem* under the denomination of borelaps. As to the decrease alledged in the importation of these borelapps this board would not willingly doubt the doctor's accompts of quantitys because these are properly before him, nevertheless the commissioners having seen from another office a particular accompt of the 3 last yeares importation of them at Yarmouth, do find they have increased by near 12 thousand ells everyone of those years in that port. But if on the whole importation it should happen as the doctor has put it, the inference would be that it is not the high duty (as the doctor always supposes) that lessens the importation of this sort of Hollands linnen, being already as low, as they themselves would wish it. In the comparison of Hollands and German linnens, the doctor offers two schemes, one of the quantitys imported from the severall cuntries, and the other of the dutys on them respectively.

From the former scheme he would shew the increase of the linnen trade from Germany beyond that from Holland, and from the other, the great disproportion of the dutys, and to this he does impute not only the increase, but even the improvement of the German linnens, that, unless the Dutch be eased in their dutys here, they will, in his opinion, be obliged to quitt their linnen trade.

As to the former scheme the doctor might have considered the great extent of territory in Germany, beyond the Netherlands, and the vastly exceeding number of manufacturers in the linnen trade of one country beyond the other, for the quantity. And if the doctor had thought fitt to add in the first scheme the quantity of linnen imported hither from Holland in 7 yeares before doubling the duty as well as in 7 yeares since, it would then have appeared whether the Dutch importations have lessened, on accompt of the

higher dutys, and if not, whether the increase in quantity, as well as some improvement there may have been in the linnen manufactures of Germany, be not chiefly oweing (as the commissioners believe in both cases) to the prohibition of the French linnens (which those from Germany most resemble and serve to supply) rather than to any increase of dutys on the Hollands linnens wherein the others have always shared, being not exempt from any one imposition.

In the other scheme (being of the duty) if the doctor had thought fitt to add the values of the respective manufactures it would then be evident, that there is no such disproportion in the dutys on the severall manufactures as there seems to be, by looking on this scheme without the values. And is there not a much greater latitude to avoid a high duty between 2*d.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* the ell; being the two extreame prices of the Hollands linnen imported [borelaps excepted] than between 8*d.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* in the broad Germany, or than between 4½*d.* and 10*d.* in the narrow. But, says the doctor, the bulk of the trade is in courser sort; to answer which, is not the medium sett in the commissioners' report for Hollands linnen, being 4*s.* 6*d.*, nearer the lowest extreame of 2*s.*, with respect to 16*s.*, than 18*d.* which is the medium of the broad Germany, is to 8*d.* with respect to 3*s.* 6*d.*? Or than 10*d.* to 4½*d.* with respect to 1*s.* 6*d.*, which are the prices of the narrow? So that whatsoever is argued by the doctor of the advantage of the Germans above the Dutch to avoid the high duties, by the latitude of the prices, falls to the ground.

As to the greater quantitys of English product and manufacture appearing to be exported to Holland, than to Germany, admitting this fact to be so, yet it must be acknowledged, that the consumption of much the greater part of these quantitys so exported, is in Germany, and 'tis the actuall consumption that gives the reall encouragement to manufactures, and not the carrying them to a storehouse only, which is not so great an advantage to the trade of England, as if the goods were carried farther towards the place of their consumption in English shipping.

As to the expedient the doctor proposes of putting the linnen duties on a more equall foot by entrye *ad valorem*. If this rule were found to answer in practice, what it appeares to be in theory, there would be a very easy way opened to regulate the whole book of rates, by that method generally.

But when it shall be remembered that very eminent merchants have valued a parcell of goods at the Customehouse at £800 for payment of dutys, and have sold the same for £3000, and when other goods have been valued for customs at 2*d.* per hundred, and sold at 35*s.* in great quantitys, the dutye on trade will be judged to lye more equally among merchants, by a rate, than under such a latitude *ad valorem*. Therefore that the doctor should suppose in calculating his table of an equivalent that the Dutch merchants would come up to the commissioners' medium in entring their goods *ad valorem*, which the doctor will agree to, on no other accompt, but only to argue from thence, that the publick fonds would not be hurt by his proposed change in the method of entry, is not only

a partiall, but a very hazardous way of computing, for the reputation of parliamentary fonds, and the publick safety resting upon the credit of them.

Upon the whole matter, the commissioners having had it in their considerations, when they made their report of the 7th of November last that the  $\frac{2}{3}$  subsidy, which is the method of tax, the Dutch have chiefly reason to complain of, as to their linnens. 2ndly that they have been already indulged as to that course sort of linnen called borelaps. 3rdly that they should have now further ease, as to threadds and tapes being the manufacture of the Netherlands only, or at least for so much, as is so. 4thly that there is already 5 per cent on the German linnen, according to their rate, more than on the Dutch. 5thly that what is now proposed by Mr. Davenant, is rather in favour of a particular manufacture setting up, by one person at Rotterdam, (as the commissioners have been informed) than any national concernes of the united provinces. 6thly that the pretence of unequall duties on Hollands linnens, cannot be thought to arise from any intention of partiality here towards the subjects of the states generall. 7thly that no ease can be given in the duties on linnens in favour of Holland, but that the Germans will expect the like, being the principall subject of their owne trade. 8thly that any alterations of the fonds, necessarily laid for carrying on the warr, in so considerable an article as that of the duties on linnens, will shake the publick creditt: this board can't help being of opinion, that many more mischiefs will probably follow, from any alteration of the duties thereon, at this time, than by letting them rest as they are.

C. GODOLPHIN  
SAM. CLARKE  
T. NEWPORT  
JO. WERDEN

Since this presentment was drawne the commissioners are informed that the Parliament has thought fitt to continue the  $\frac{2}{3}$  subsidy for 3 yeares longer, in which case if all linnens threads and tapes shall be excepted, the Dutch merchants will have reason to be satisfied with such an exemption from generall dutys in favour of their trade, on the present application, and whereby other trades will have no just cause to complain

CG. S.C. T.N. J.W.

### III<sup>1</sup>

(*Public Record Office, C.O. 390/12, pp. 15-43.*)

MR. HENRY MARTIN, INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE EXPORTS AND IMPORTS HIS OBSERVATIONS UPON THE ACCOUNT OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FOR 17 YEARS ENDING AT CHRISTMAS 1714 DELIVERED IN TO THE BOARD OF TRADE 1717/8.

The total values of goods exported and imported, whether between England and every particular nation or between England

<sup>1</sup> See p. 22 above. The document is a copy or draft, not the signed paper transmitted to the board, and the title is in a different hand from the body of the text.

and the whole world, is made up by the values added together of the annual quantities of every species of goods imported and exported by the Custom House entries.

I presume it will not be expected that the infinite and daily variations of prices of all sorts of goods should be exactly followed in accounts of this nature: this was impossible to be done. My predecessors had valued allways the annual quantities by the same prices of the same species. The valuations were continued in this manner to the end of the year 1705. From that time no goods except those entered at value sworn were valued in the books of my office; for all others there were blanks instead of estimates; these blanks I have filled up, allways using the same prices for the same species of goods, except that from that time I have fixed new prices on the several sorts of woollen manufactures, nearer as I believe to their most current value, and in this manner the goods are valued to Christmas 1715.

If the thing intended by these valuations was to discover at one view the increase or decrease of the quantities of goods, imported and exported, it must be acknowledged that the keeping allways to the same price of the same species of goods serves best for this purpose, since the increase or decrease of the quantities must shew at once in some measure this last increase or decrease: whereas if it had been possible to have brought into the total values the numberless variations of prices of all sorts of goods, this had not been sufficient to show the increase or decrease of the quantities imported or exported, since it often happens that a less quantity of goods in one year is of more value than a greater of the same goods in another. This is frequently the case of all sorts of goods but more especially of corn, wine, sugar, tobacco, and other goods that depend almost wholly on the kindliness of the season.

But if the thing sought for is the ballance of our annual trade, or the sum of money annually imported or the difference between the goods bought and the goods sold by England, the imports and exports in this account or by the Custom House books how rightly soever valued, cannot be esteemed a just estimate of all the goods bought and sold by England; nor will the difference between the value of the publick imports and that of the exports, be the same with the difference between the goods bought and the goods sold by England.

This I humbly conceive will be acknowledged if it can be made appear that on the one hand a considerable but unknown value of the publick imports every year is purchased without any cost to England, and on the other a great value of commoditys is exported and sold abroad, which yet are no cause of the exports by the customs account; and again that on the one hand great quantities of goods are every year imported and sold in England which yet are not valued among the Custom House imports; and on the other many of the goods valued among the exports of this account were never sold abroad, and some of them never exported out of England.

First, therefore that a considerable but unknown value of the

publick imports was purchased every year without any cost paid by England and consequently not by England.

This must be acknowledged of all that value of imports from our own plantations, which are annually at the charge of the planters and on their risque imported and converted into money or other estates to remain here for the use of those people and till their return. Our planters, those especially of the warmer climate, consider England as their native country to which they are at last to return; and for this reason they send or bring home every year great quantities of goods from their plantations; with part of which being converted and sold there they pay the freight of all the rest: with part of these goods they purchase from England manufactures and other necessaries for themselves and their plantations; as also provisions from Ireland, wine from Madeira, slaves from Africa; what remains of the value of these imports is generally converted into money or other estates to remain here for the use of those planters. Now as those people went naked out of England, without money or effects, so the value imported at their charge and converted into estates to remain here for their use cannot be said to be purchased or bought by England or by any money or effects exported out of England.

The same thing may be said of the governors and other officers of our trading colonies and companys abroad, of our factors, agents and other English merchants disperst in all foreign countrys. These men when they have gained estates by their governments, offices and by commissions, and by trading from port to port, do, generally speaking, invest their estates in foreign goods to be imported and sold and to remain here for their own use. Considerable quantitys of goods are imported every year in this manner and valued among the other imports; but how rightly soever they may be valued, as the owners carryed nothing out of England, the said imports must be allowed to be merely purchased by their foreign gains, it can never be said that England bought these goods or paid any part of their price.

Lastly the same thing may be said of the imports purchased by the gain on the sale of our goods for more than their cost in England, or by the gain made in trading voyages, or by trading from one foreign port to another.

If a cargo that cost £1000 in England is sold for £1100 in some foreign nation and this last sum is laid out in goods to be imported into England; these may be justly valued among the imports at the last sum; but the cost in England is no more than the cost of the first cargo which was exported; the remainder of the cost of these imports is paid by the gain on the sale of that first cargo and not by England.

And what I intended by a trading voyage is where a cargo exported out of England is sold at a greater price at the first foreign port and the whole sum received there is laid out in a cargo for some other port, which is sold there for more money than was received at the first, and thus by trading from port to port, the stock of the ship has been often doubled and sometimes quadrupled, the whole increased sum is laid out at the last port in returns for

England ; these returns may be justly valued among the imports at that increased sum, but the cost in England could be no more than the cost of the cargo that was exported out of England ; the remainder of the value was bought by the gains of a trading voyage and not by England.

How justly soever therefore the public imports might be valued in this account, yet who would be able to tell how great a part of this value was purchased by England, or which is the same thing, by money or effects exported out of England ; and how great a part by the mere gains of our planters, governors, officers, factors, agents and our English merchants abroad, who carried nothing out of England ; or by the gains made on the sale of our goods abroad, or by our trading voyages and not by England ? The most exact knowledge of the value of our imports would not enable any one to answer these questions or to distinguish how great a part of their value is not bought by England or by money or effects exported out of England.

Hence I humbly conceive it must follow though it should be allowed that the public imports and exports were our whole imports and exports, and that both were most exactly valued, that nevertheless the sum paid to the difference between the value bought and the value sold by England would not be the same as the difference between the value imported and exported ; England would have either so much less to pay or so much less to receive, as would be equal to that value imported and purchased by the aforesaid gains and not by money or effects exported out of England, the ballance of trade would be more in favour of England by that whole value of imports which was not bought by England.

But a second thing which hinders the knowledge of this ballance of trade or the sum of money paid to the difference between the value bought and the value sold by England is the value exported, but not made a part of the value of exports in this account.

Of this sort ought to be accounted our shipping, so far as it earns freight from other nations, whether by exportation or importation ; in this respect it is in the nature of an exported commodity.

Very much the greatest part of the value of our plantation goods, especially those of our sugar and tobacco plantations, is imported in English shipping and on the account and risque of the planters themselves, who therefore must pay the freight to England either by England<sup>1</sup> or by a part of the goods imported, which is sold to pay this freight, in which case our very shipping is an exported commodity, that purchases so much value of imported goods.

The same may be said of the shipping which brings home the estates of our governors, officers, factors agents and English merchants, as have imports,<sup>2</sup> are purchased without cost to England, so they must likewise pay the freight of their importation into England ; and this is generally done to the English shipping.

In like manner whatsoever freight is paid by foreigners, whether for exportation or importation, to the English shipping, may be

<sup>1</sup> This word is evidently a slip of the pen, presumably for ' money.'

<sup>2</sup> The text seems here to be corrupt.

said to be the purchase of an exported commodity as neither is nor can be valued among our exports of the Custom House.

To the freight of our shipping may be added the value of goods which are clandestinely exported, which may perhaps be reduced to the single article of wooll, of which great complaints are made every year : but it is certain how detrimental soever this may be to the English woollen manufacture, yet the value of this exportation must be paid to England either by goods or money, though at the same time, it must be acknowledged, what is paid for wooll, is no part of the value of the exports in this account.

But whatsoever additions are to be made to the value of the publick exports on account of freight, earned from other nations by the English shipping or of our clandestine exportations, and whatsoever deductions from the value of the publick imports in the purchase of which England was not at all concerned, this is certain, that the true ballance of our trade cannot be made without taking in those additions and deductions, and the same must increase or decrease to the advantage of England in proportion to the value of both, that is, England has so much less money to pay or so much more to receive for the difference between the value of goods bought and the value sold by England as is equal to the whole value of both the additions, to be made in one case and the deductions in the other. But as this value is never to be known it may reasonably be concluded that we shall never be able to come at the knowledge of the exact ballance of our trade, however exactly we might be able to value all the publick imports and exports.

What has been hitherto said intends to make the ballance of trade more favourable on the side of England than it appears to be by the difference between the values imported and exported by these accounts ; what follows tends to show the contrary ; therefore

Thirdly we may safely affirm that great quantitys of goods are every year sold to England by foreign nations, which neither are nor can be valued among the public accounts. Such are

1st. The foreign shipping (in which I include that of our own plantations) which earns freight from England whether by importation or exportation ; for if I have justly allowed our own shipping so far as it earns freight from forreign nations, I ought with the same justice to allow foreign shipping earning freight from England to be of the nature of an imported commodity, the value of which is paid by that freight.

The Act of Navigation pretty well secures against any great payments on this account to other foreign ships : but those of our own plantations are at full liberty to earn of us what they can, and 'tis hoped will allways remain so by our laws.

Some payments were made to neutral ships during the war, and perhaps the shipping of our plantations may import a fifth part freight from England, as is due for so much of those goods as they import on the account and risque of England, which I'm persuaded will not be thought to be a great deal. But whatever it is it is allways like to remain a secret.



2dly. Another value is imported and sold to England, which is no part of the value of those publick imports, and that is the very ships themselves of New England and some other plantations after their voyages performed hither. These are some of the returns by which they are enabled to pay some part of the ballance, which is due to England for an overplus of goods annually exported to those countries: I know not whether 40 or 50 sail of ships of New England built may not be annually sold in England.

3dly. The clandestine importations from our next neighbours, especially of coffee, tea, pepper, wine, brandy and East India prohibited goods without doubt amount to a very great value, which must be paid by England, but this is no part of the value of the imports in this account.

4thly. Many goods are purchased in other countrys which are wreckt or lost in their way to England; so that they cannot be valued among the imports: yet they ought to be esteemed a part of the goods bought by England, nor is it possible to know the value of goods bought by England without knowing the value of such of them as are lost in their passage hither.

Since therefore we neither know by this account, nor can possibly come at the knowledge of what freight or value is annually paid by England, nor what is the cost of foreign shipping, which is of the nature of an imported commodity, nor what is the cost of foreign ships sold in England, which are also a foreign commodity, but not valued among the imports, nor what is paid to goods bought in foreign countrys but never imported into England, it may reasonably be concluded, that though all the valuations in this account were exact and though the whole value of the imports in it had been paid by England, yet this was not the whole cost by England to foreign goods: great additions ought to be made to it in the beforementioned accounts; but how great, is a secret never to be known.

And from hence it must follow that the ballance of trade on the summe annually paid to the difference between the value of goods bought and the value sold by England is never to be known by the difference between the value imported and the value exported by the Custom House books.

The whole value of these unknown additions which ought to be made to the known imports, would alter the ballance so much to the disadvantage of England; which would be still more to our disadvantage by several unknown deductions which ought to be made from the value of the exports; for 'tis certain

5thly. That many goods are valued among the exports which were not sold to foreign countrys and some of them perhaps never exported out of England.

1st. Many of the goods valued among the exports, it must be allowed were lost at sea, before they could reach their foreign markets, the value of such losses is unknown, but whatsoever they were it is certain the exports that were thus lost were never sold by England.

2dly. Many persons will be ready to add to this, that considerable quantities of goods, which are suffered to go out free, especially



of our own woollen manufactures are never exported, though the same are entered out by some merchants to make ostentation of their trade in the printed entries and for want of due care of the searchers who perhaps may think the publick not much concerned by the over-entrys of goods which pay nothing to the Crown. But I must humbly submit whether 'tis prudent to tell foreign nations (as we do) in print, what they buy from England and especially to make ostentation of more than they really buy. For this is certain whatsoever is entered out and not exported, is not sold by England, and is therefore falsely valued among the exports.

Whatsoever goods are valued among the exports, but are either lost at sea before they are able to reach the foreign ports, or not exported can never be said to be sold by England and consequently as the ballance of trade is the difference between the value bought and the value sold, such goods as are either not sold or not exported ought to be deducted from the value exported, before any judgement can be made from the values imported and exported, of the difference of the value bought and sold by England. Such deductions if they could be made would make the ballance of trade so much more to the disadvantage of England; but what man is able to make the proper deductions from the value exported in respect to the goods that are exported and not sold, and entered out but not exported?

Upon the whole matter as it may seem impossible on the one hand to make the just deductions from the value imported in respect to that part of it which was purchased without the cost of England, and also the proper additions to the value exported in respect to the goods sold but not valued among the exports; and on the other hand to make the like just addition to the value of the goods imported, in respect to the quantities of goods imported but not valued among the imports, and also the proper deductions from the value exported by the entries in respect to the quantities of goods which are either not exported or not sold abroad, it may reasonably be inferred that we can never come at the knowledge of the values bought and sold by England by the values imported and exported according to the entrys. And if so the ballance of trade or the sum of money paid to the difference between the values bought and sold is not possible to be known.

Only of this we can be assured, that the ballance of our annual trade appearing in the difference between the values exported and imported by the Custom House accounts was more to the advantage of England in proportion to the whole value of the two first deductions and additions, and to our disadvantage in proportion to the whole value of the two last.

For these reasons I must humbly submit whether the imports and exports by the entries though each were exactly valued in this account would be sufficient to give the annual ballance of our trade without making proper allowances of all such additions and deductions as I have mentioned; and whether it will not be very difficult or rather impossible to make these allowances, since the entries can be no guide at all in this matter.

But if the thing sought for in these estimates is not so much

an exact ballance of our trade, which is not possible to be known, by any estimates whatsoever ; but rather to know the increase or decrease of such particular trades as are beneficial or detrimental, as far as the same can be known by the Custom House accounts, in order to the giving encouragement to the former, or to our discouraging the latter, it must be said that both the beneficial and detrimental trades can be known only by observing the nature of the imports and exports between us and every particular nation, and the increase or decrease of the benefit or mischief seems to be best known by the increase or decrease of the value both of imports and exports, valued allways by the same prices of the same species of goods and not by different prices, by which the increase or decrease of the quantitys whether imported or exported would be impossible to be known.

HENRY MARTYN.

IV<sup>1</sup>

(*Public Record Office, C.O. 390/14.*)

AN ESSAY TOWARDS FINDING THE BALLANCE OF OUR WHOLE TRADE  
ANNUALLY FROM CHRISTMAS OF 1698 TO CHRISTMAS 1719

The ballance of trade is the difference between the value of goods bought and the value of goods sold by England or rather the sum of money or other as durable value paid to that difference.

If a greater value of goods are bought by England than sold to foreign nations the difference must be exported out of England in coin or bullion and the ballance is so much to our disadvantage.

But if a greater value of goods are sold by England than bought abroad the difference or ballance must come to England in coin or bullion.

The imports and exports as they stand valued in the books of the inspector-general are sometimes called for to give this ballance. The total value of both imports and exports as they are valued for twenty-one years with the excess or ballance on the side of the exports are seen in the table on the following page.

But this account is by no means sufficient to give the ballance of our trade, for to come at the several sums in the said scheme the inspector hath valued both imports and exports by fixt and standing prizes of every species of goods not at the prizes by which the former was bought and the latter sold, which alone are the proper values to give an exact ballance or our trade.

Indeed this way of valueing both imports and exports is best able to give the increase or decrease of the annual quantitys of each, for as long as the estimates are always the same the value must increase or decrease with the quantitys and the increase or decrease of the latter is proved of by that of the former.

And indeed the annual increase or decrease of the quantitys of goods publickly imported or exported is more generally sought after

<sup>1</sup> See p. 25, above. As in the other documents here printed, the punctuation of the original has not been followed. In this instance it must be remarked that it is very bad.

AN ACCOUNT SHEWING THE VALUE OF THE EXPORTS AND IMPORTS WITH THE EXCESS OR BALANCE ON THE SIDE OF THE EXPORTS AS THEY STAND IN THE INSPECTOR-GENERALLS BOOKS

	Value of Exports		Value of Imports		Value of Excess on the Side of Exports	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Year 1699 . . .	6,788,166	17 6	5,707,669	11 9	1,080,497	5 9
Year 1700 . . .	7,302,716	8 7	5,970,175	1 10	1,332,541	6 9
Year 1701 . . .	7,621,053	6 5	5,869,606	9 10	1,751,446	16 7
Year 1702 . . .	5,235,873	15 5	4,159,304	16 0	1,076,568	19 5
Year 1703 . . .	6,644,103	6 0	4,526,579	11 1	2,117,523	14 11
Year 1704 . . .	6,552,019	18 2	5,383,200	16 5	1,168,819	1 9
Year 1705 . . .	5,501,677	11 2	4,931,649	14 10	1,470,027	16 4
Year 1706 . . .	6,512,086	17 1	4,113,933	3 3	2,398,153	13 10
Year 1707 . . .	6,767,178	8 6	4,274,055	10 4	2,493,122	18 2
Year 1708 . . .	6,969,089	19 1	4,698,663	11 8	2,270,426	7 5
Year 1709 . . .	6,627,045	17 6	4,510,593	18 8	2,116,452	5 10
Year 1710 . . .	6,690,828	15 2	4,011,341	7 4	2,679,487	7 10
Year 1711 . . .	6,447,170	16 3	4,685,785	17 7	1,761,384	18 8
Year 1712 . . .	7,468,857	5 1	4,454,682	11 6	3,014,174	13 7
Year 1713 . . .	7,352,655	2 2	5,811,077	16 6	1,541,477	5 8
Year 1714 . . .	8,357,654	1 3	5,929,277	0 8	2,428,427	0 7
Year 1715 . . .	7,379,409	0 8	5,640,943	16 5	1,738,465	4 3
Year 1716 . . .	7,641,085	6 11	5,800,258	7 8	1,813,826	19 3
Year 1717 . . .	9,147,700	2 4	6,346,768	1 6	2,800,932	0 10
Year 1718 . . .	8,225,302	14 5	6,669,390	1 1	1,585,912	13 4
Year 1719 . . .	7,709,528	1 7	5,367,499	8 3	2,342,028	13 4

than the ballance of trade, which cannot be exact if the goods bought and sold are not exactly valued, the former at the very prices at which they were bought and the latter at the prizes which they were sold which is never to be expected where the prices of all things every day rising and falling and are known only to the buyers and sellers and not communicated by them to the inspector-generall.

But though an exact knowledge of the prices at which the imports are bought and the exports sold is not to be had, and consequently there is no coming at the exact difference between both, yet certainly such mediums of the just prices might be attained as would not, by a medium of many years, be found to differ greatly from the truth.

This I believe has been done with respect to our woollen manufacturers which amount to near half the value of our whole annual exportation at least from the year 1705 *when a new valuation of these goods was introduced into the Inspector-Generalls Books and has been continued ever since, nearer* <sup>1</sup> I believe to the truth than that which had been made use of before from the first commencement of the office to that time.

As the current prices of all goods sold in England are not so difficult to be known as those of goods sold in foreign countries, and especially at great distance, I cannot but hope all our exports are valued by such just mediums of their variable prices as are not very wide of their own true values, and such as if the imports were as well valued would be able to give us, though not the exact, yet a tolerable difference between the prices at which both imports and exports

<sup>1</sup> In margin : N.B.

were bought and sold *communibus annis* ; but here the misfortune is that the imports are many of 'em much overvalued beyond their cost clear on board from foreign countries, and these overvaluations ought to be taken of before we can arrive at any tolerable difference between the values imported and exported.

But though the inspector's valuations of both imports and exports were ever so exact yet they would not give the value of goods bought and sold by England nor the ballance of trade, which is not the difference between the values imported and exported but between the values bought and sold by England.

First then the inspector's value of imports is not the value bought by England in foreign nations, because :—

First many of them are over valued, that is they are valued beyond their cost clear on board from foreign countries, and whatsoever the value in the inspectors' books exceeds the cost given for the goods cannot be said to be bought neither by value exported out of England nor by any other value whatsoever ; but suppose these overvaluations were taken of and that all our imports were reduced to their real cost clear on board from foreign countries, yet

Secondly it's certain that many of them are bought by foreign gains or by gains acquired in foreign nations and whatsoever are so bought are no cost to England.

It is certain that many of our publick imports are purchased by the gains made by advance of the prices of the sale of our exports in foreign countries beyond their value clear on board from England. This advance of the prices was no value exported out of England but it is merely adventitious to the goods after their arrival in the foreign market and therefore the imports purchased by this gain cannot be said to be purchased by value exported out of England.

Again we fitt out ships for sea or Newfoundland to load with fish, which is carried on directly to foreign countries and there sold, and the produce is to be invested in goods to be imported into England ; now the imports purchased by this fish or by the produce of it cannot be said to be purchased by value exported out of England, the fish was not exported out of England ; and indeed the fishing vessels carry little hence but tackle, men and provisions which are not valued among the exports and therefore the imports so purchased cannot be said to be purchased by value exported out of England, but are purchased by so much meer foreign gains.

The same may be said of our fishing for hake, ling, haddock and stockfish on our own coast or in Iceland, which are sold in foreign countries without ever coming into England. The foreign goods purchased by this fish or the produce of it cannot be said to be purchased by value exported out of England.

Again we make considerable gains by trading voyages abroad, that is when a ship hath delivered and sold her cargo from England at an advanced price at the first foreign port and there takes in a new cargo of the last value for some other foreign port and so continues out trading from port to port till her stock is sometimes above double the value she carried out of England. Whatsoever her cargo at the last foreign port exceeded the value of that she carried out of England is to be accounted the gain of a trading voyage and was not

value exported out of England, and therefore the imports purchased by that gain cannot be said to be bought by England, or by value exported out of England.

Again our governors or other officers of our trading companys abroad, our planters in the West Indies and some too on the continent of America, our factors, agents and merchants residing in all parts of the commercial world, all of them such as have carried little or nothing out of England, acquire great gains abroad by their industry, trade, commissions and plantations. Many of our publick imports come every year from these people to be converted and remain here for their use, but certainly England is at no charge to purchase the imports that are converted into English estates for those people. Their estates are of their own getting, and so are the imports they send hither to be thus converted: they are procured by meer foreign gains without any cost at all to England.

Again our ships earn a great deal of freight from foreign nations by exporting goods from England and by carrying goods from one foreign nation to another. All the freight that is so earned, above what is necessary to repair the waste of the ship and her outset sustained meerly by this service, is so much clear foreign gain. As to the rest of the freight earned abroad, which is just necessary to repair the said waste of the ship and her outset in the above mentioned foreign service, it is so much value received for so much value of our shipping, which in this respect is in the nature of an exported commodity, and can no more be accounted clear gains than the price that is received from any other exported goods. But then though our shipping in this case is to be considered as an exported commodity yet it is not entered nor valued among exports, and consequently the freight that is earned by it from abroad is not a value received for a value publickly exported; and since the shipping, as it earns freight abroad, is not valued among our common exports, the freight that is earned by it from other nations may be very justly accounted as clear gain and the imports purchased by this freight may be said to be purchased by our foreign gain, or at least not by value exported for which credit is given on the side of exports.

Lastly I am not able to think of any imports that are purchased by any other foreign gains than what I have mentioned, except the imports as may be sent hither as presents, which I can account <sup>1</sup> but as a trifle and the value received for clandestine exports which indeed is so much value received for so much value exported and sold to foreign nations, but as the latter <sup>2</sup> is not valued among our exports the value received for it as well as the freight earned abroad by our ships may be accounted as foreign gain; but I believe I shall be able to show that the value received from our clandestine exports cannot amount to any great summe but, whatsoever it is, the imports purchased by this value ought to be accounted as purchased by so much clear foreign gain since no credit is given on the side of our exports for the goods sold to produce the said value.

If all our publick imports could possibly be reduced to their right value by taking off their overvaluations yet the remaining value cannot be said to be purchased by England since doubtless a

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'amount to.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. here has 'end.'

great deal of it is purchased by the severall foreign gains above mentioned, at least not by value publickly exported, and for which credit given among the publick exports.

It is necessary, therefore, that the overvaluations of the imports that are not purchased at all, and also the value purchased by the above mentioned foreign gains should be seperated and distinguished from the value of imports purchased at the cost of England and this can be done only by the two following ways :

Either first by giving directly the cost annually paid by England to our publick imports in which case if there be still a remaining value this must be accounted either overvaluations beyond their real cost or a value purchased by foreign gains and not at the cost of England.

Or secondly by giving directly the amount both of the overvaluations and also of the value of foreign gains paid for the publick imports and this being deducted from the total value of imports as it stands in the inspector's books the remainder will be only purchased by England or by value publickly exported out of England.

But if by this means we could come at the value of publick imports bought by England our business would not be quite done, for the publick imports are not all that are so brought. There are also other foreign goods that are bought by England which are not valued among the publick imports, as

First, ships foreign built which are sold in England.

Secondly, goods purchased at the cost of our people in foreign countries and lost or taken in their way to England

Thirdly, Foreign ships earning freight from England may be counted as a foreign commodity of the value of so much freight sold to England

And, lastly, goods clandestinely imported or clandestinely re-landed after they have been shipt of to draw back the duties and after credit hath been given for them on the side of our publick exports.

All these goods are as truly bought by England as any of our publick imports, but yet are not valued among the said imports, therefore other foreign goods are bought by England besides those that are valued among the publick imports and the value of the former ought also to be known and added to the latter before we can pretend to affirm what is the value of foreign goods bought by England.

But if we could come at the value of foreign goods bought by England we are still but half way to the ballance of trade, which is the difference between the value bought and the value sold, therefore in this case the latter is as necessary to be known as the former.

And here it will be said that some deduction must necessarily be made from, and some additions to, the publick exports to give the just value of goods sold by England to foreign nations.

To begin with the deductions :

First, I hope none will be made on account of overvaluations or of making the value of exports greater than the cost of them clear on board from England. There are few or no species of goods valued among the common exports which are not also sold every day in England ; and it will be thought much easier to come at the prices of goods sold in England, or at a tolerable medium of those prices,

than of prices of goods in foreign countries, especially those which are at the greatest distance. Therefore I conceive there will be no need of any deduction from our exports on account of overvaluations.

Secondly, I am also persuaded that nothing ought to be deducted from our exports as not sold abroad on account of many goods that are lost or taken at sea in foreign countrys, by which they cannot be presented to be sold that are lost before they reach the foreign market. This is undoubtedly true, and appears by the insurance that is given every day on goods exported, besides that there can be nothing more notorious than the many captures and shipwrecks that are continually [suffered] by our merchants.

To this I answer—

That England is paid for the exports that are lost, in the prices she receives for those that arrive in the foreign market. There would be no such thing as exportation if the merchant were not at a medium to gain a reasonable profit; and this could not be, if he were not reimbursed the cost of the goods he exports, his freight, commission, insurance, and losses, and all other charges whatsoever. Sometimes it may happen other ways but at a medium this must be the case or there would quickly be an end of all exportation. The merchants therefore, and consequently England, is paid for all losses at sea of exports by advance of the prices on those that arrive safe in foreign countrys; and if so no deduction ought to be made from the whole value of our exports on the account of the few that are lost and never sold, since even these are paid for by advance on the prices of the rest.

Thirdly; but if greater quantitys of goods be valued among the exports then are indeed exported, whether by means of double entries of the same goods or by the merchants entering for exportation more than he exports to make ostentation of his trade in the printed bills, it cannot be denied that whatsoever the quantity exported is so much value more than is exported, and consequently than is sold abroad from the total value of exports, which from the port of London are always valued by the quantitys found in the bills of entry, and, this deduction being made, the remainder only ought to be esteemed the value of exports sold by England to foreign nations.

Every deduction that shall be made for the value of the publick exports lessens so much the value coming to England for goods sold abroad and renders the ballance of our whole trade so much less to our advantage. On the contrary if any goods are exported from England or sold by our people in foreign countries which are not valued among our publick exports, the value of the former ought to be added to the latter, which will make the whole number coming to England for goods sold abroad so much the greater and the ballance of our whole trade so much the more advantageous to England in proportion to the value to be added to our exports.

As to additions therefor to be made to our publick exports on account of goods sold in foreign nations but not valued among the publick exports, it will be said:

First that our clandestine exports are as truly goods sold abroad as any that are entered at the Custom House.

Secondly that our ships so far as they earn freight from foreign



nations, sufficient to repair the waste they suffer in foreign service, are of the nature of an exported commodity the value of which is paid by freight.

But neither goods clandestinely exported nor ships earning freight from foreign nations can be valued among the publick exports, yet are as truly sold by England as those that are entered at the Custom House.

As for the clandestine exports, first I am perswaded very few or no goods charged with the old subsidy outwards are clandestinely exported ; that subsidy is but 5 per cent, of the value, but then the goods that pay it are generally underated in the book of rates so that perhaps they don't pay above 2 per cent of their true value at a medium and the saving so small duty is hardly temptation sufficient to the merchant, to risque the loss of his goods by a clandestine exportation.

Secondly, there is much less reason to believe that any goods are clandestinely exported that pay no dutys at exportation, which is the case of woollen manufactures and provisions, for what temptation can any man have to risque the loss of his goods by a clandestine exportation by which nothing is either got to be saved or gained ?

Thirdly, there is still less reason for the clandestine exportation of goods that receive a bounty or draw back duties when they are exported, which is the case of corn, leather and all sorts of foreign goods. The people who shall clandestinely export such goods as these not only venture the loss of the goods themselves but loose all title to such bounty and draw back, and it will be justly wondered at therefore if all such goods that are exported should not be entered at the Custom House.

The above mentioned goods may be said to comprehend all that are exported except those of which the exportation is prohibited, which are chiefly wool and such other materials as are used in the woollen manufacture.

Fourthly therefore if any goods are clandestinely exported, they must be such as these of which the exportation is prohibited and as for such, they must be clandestinely exported or not at all.

And here we have a great outcry every year from our clothiers and others almost every session of parliament that our wool is run out to France and other nations in spight of officers and vessells appointed to guard our coasts, and to prevent this mischief ; that France hath increased of late to a prodigious degree in the woollen manufacture, that she has either no wool of her own or none that can be sufficient for the manufacture without a mixture of wool from England, but that of late she has been able with the very wool they got from hence to rival our principal manufacture in Turkey and most other foreign markets.

To which I answer :

We do very well to keep our wool at home as much as we can for the employment of our own poor, but we have too great a fondness for it if, we imagine 'tis not the growth of other countries as well as England. Mutton is the most common meat in every village in Europe, though, perhaps not so common in France or any other



country as it is in England, where possibly there may be a greater consumption of flesh in proportion than there is in any other nation. And doe we imagine then that other nations throw away the fleeces of their sheep or at least that without a mixture of ours, the wool of other countrys cannot be manufactured? France itself is not without wool that answers all the uses of any that can be had from England, and if any particular sort were wanting she might be supplied with it from Spain and Portugal, for those countrys and especially the former sell all sorts of wool that answers all the ends of ours from 6*d.* to 12*d.* per pound; and without this it would be ridiculous to imagine that France would ever have set up the woollen manufactures, or would have cultivated it with so much care as she hath done if she must have lain at the mercy of England or any other particular nation for the enjoyment of it. We doe mighty well to confine wool to our own growth when it's notorious that our best Spanish cloth is made of Spannish wool intirely without the least mixture of our own; the materials of this manufacture we are intirely supplied with from Spain and France might be supplied with the same as well as we. For every other woollen manufacture France hath the materials within itself as well as England, and if not in so great abundance, when she feels the want of any particular sort she may be furnished from Spain and Portugal, who have all sorts and of all staples from the very best to the worst. France might have wanted wool as well as corn, and no doubt if she can be supplied cheaper from England than at home or from any other country she will endeavour to get it from us; but we must not flatter ourselves if by prohibiting the exportation of our wool we should destroy the French woollen manufacture. Any year we could starve the whole French nation if we should prohibit the exportation of our corn, yet I would not wish the exportation of the former as easy as that of the latter. I am not for starving any nation, but would be very glad that the materials of the woollen manufacture should be cheaper here than in any other country, though I can by no means believe the value of exported wool so prodigious as it is imagined.

But let the exportation be as great as it is conceived and the detriment as much as possible to our woollen-manufacture, yet still the value of it must be paid to England; and when we are enquiring into the ballance of our trade or the difference between the value bought and sold, our very wool and all other clandestine exports are still to be accounted so much value sold, and renders the ballance of our trade so much the more to our advantage.

It cannot be denied but the value of our clandestine exports are as truly sold by England as our publick exports, therefore we ought either to add to the publick value of clandestine exports to give the whole value of goods sold by England, or at least to give the difference between the values bought and sold, we ought to deduct from the imports the value purchased by the produce of clandestine exports, as not purchased by value publicly exported out of England.

But I shall neither add on the side of our exports any value for goods clandestinely exported, nor deduct from the imports any value as purchased by clandestine exports and not by value exported publicly from England; because I think the value of clandestine

exports to be inconsiderable, whosoever shall think this other ways will have no reason to complain that I make the ballance less advantagious to us than it is, since whatsoever value can be deducted from the imports and added to the exports would make the ballance more to our advantage.

As to our ships earning freight from foreign nations, they may be truly said to be a commodity sold, and considering the vast exportations from England and from one foreign nation to another by English shipping the freight earned abroad must necessarily amount to a great annual value received for so much value sold, yet I shall add nothing on this account to the value of our publick exports because I have mixt this whole freight in our foreign gains and deducted the value purchased by both from our publick imports and have consequently lessened our whole cost paid to the public imports, the whole value of that freight, and haveing so done I ought to add any value of our shipping to that of our publick exports.

Having premised this I shall take leave:—

First, to give an account of the foreign coin or bullion publicly exported during the twenty-one years in which I am endeavouring to give the Ballance [of] our trade because I shall with respect to some countrys allow the coin exported to be so much ballance paid by England.

Secondly, to offer a scheme of our whole trade and the ballance due upon it by the help of fifteen tables, which I shall endeavour afterwards to support by observations on every one, still making all reasonable allowances to the disadvantage to England which in my own opinion can be required.

AN ACCOUNT SHEWING THE VALUE OF FOREIGN COIN AND BULLION  
EXPORTED AND TO WHAT COUNTRIES IN 21 YEARS FROM CHRISTMAS 1698  
TO CHRISTMAS 1719

	<i>Africa</i>		<i>Denmark and Norway</i>		<i>East Country</i>		<i>East India</i>		<i>Flanders</i>	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1699	969	0 0	472	10 0			840,207	12 6		
1700	500	0 0			486	0 0	805,577	7 6	1,012	10 0
1701	455	0 0	676	16 8			725,009	5 0		
1702			146	5 0	75	0 0	410,762	0 0		
1703			25	0 0			451,277	0 0		
1704							303,011	14 2		
1705							174,593	5 0		
1706							231,500	5 0		
1707	26	15 0					313,283	0 0		
1708							362,459	11 3		
1709							515,281	0 0		
1710							228,102	12 6		
1711							357,830	0 0		
1712	130	0 0					152,862	2 9		
1713			212	10 0			315,352	6 3		
1714	62	10 0			125	0 0	202,241	2 6		
1715							393,516	16 0	2,850	0 0
1716	225	0 0					400,478	17 6		
1717							795,940	15 0	50	0 0
1718	640	2 6	500	0 0			479,787	0 0	40,512	5 0
1719			1,125	0 0			514,201	15 0	1,840	0 0
	£3,008	7 6	£3,158	1 8	£686	0 0	£8,973,875	7 11	£46,264	15 0

	<i>France</i>			<i>Holland</i>			<i>Ireland</i>			<i>Germany</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1699	702	12	0	3,201	5	0	925	0	0			
1700				3,331	15	0	10,525	2	3			
1701	295	16	0	6,617	11	8	9,273	9	6	14	0	0
1702				20,410	15	0	3,910	0	0	900	0	0
1703				12,290	11	3	832	3	0			
1704				51,534	15	0	170	0	0			
1705				13,960	0	0						
1706				25,664	17	6	85	0	0			
1707				9,287	5	0	34	0	0			
1708				40,278	10	0						
1709				185,675	1	0				9,680	0	0
1710				164,841	3	4						
1711				122,480	8	1						
1712				440,257	1	10	816	0	0			
1713				66,199	15	0	50,877	14	6	115	5	0
1714	504	0	0	1,210	3	9	116,618	11	0			
1715	2,788	10	0	11,888	0	0	16,809	19	0			
1716				103,948	0	0	10,852	8	4	1,299	16	0
1717				32,761	0	0	1,094	15	4			
1718	388,889	19	0	953,271	18	0	21,008	8	0			
1719	67,101	7	0	275,889	16	0	10,054	10	0			
	£460,282	4	0	£2,839,852	1	5	£253,887	0	11	£12,009	1	0

	<i>Maderas</i>			<i>Portugal</i>			<i>Russia</i>			<i>Spain</i>			<i>Streights</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1699							948	0	0	1,272	0	0	1,152	15	0
1700	612	10	0	240	12	6	5,207	10	0	332	10	0	220	10	0
1701							435	0	0	170	0	0			
1702							990	5	0						
1703				700	0	0	6,900	10	0						
1704							10,360	0	0						
1705							4,158	0	0						
1706							3,694	0	0						
1707							4,577	10	0				130	15	0
1708							1,797	10	0						
1709							3,052	7	6						
1710							1,213	15	0						
1711							3,872	15	6						
1712										88	5	0	1,302	1	3
1713	413	5	0	560	0	0				687	2	6	3,985	10	0
1714	35	0	0										21,499	19	6
1715							431	5	0				19,325	5	0
1716													36,237	15	0
1717													19,837	10	0
1718	75	0	0				425	0	0				6,358	0	0
1719							461	10	0				2,387	10	0
	£1,135	15	0	£1,500	12	6	£48,584	18	0	£2,549	17	6	£112,437	10	9

	Sweden		Turkey		Guernsey	Antigua		Berbadoes	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£ s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1699	421	0 0	43	15 0		150	0 0	439	5 0
1700	1,375	0 0	216	5 0		525	0 0	1,712	10 0
1701	164	13 4	852	5 0	24 5 8	340	0 0	2,625	0 0
1702			64	10 0		850	0 0		
1703			775	0 0					
1704									
1705									
1706			165	0 0					
1707									
1708									
1709									
1710			1,462	10 0					
1711									
1712			4,561	11 3					
1713			18,280	1 3					
1714			4,812	10 0				2,365	17 6
1715	10	0 0	8,569	5 0				831	10 0
1716			6,626	12 6				648	5 0
1717			5,896	10 0				680	0 0
1718								340	0 0
1719									
<hr/>									
	£1,970	13 4	£52,325	15 0	£744 5 8	£1,865	0 0	£9,642	7 6

	Caro- lina	Jamaica		Nevis		Italy and Canaries	Pensil- vena and New York	Total : Annually Exported for 21 Years		
	£	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
1699								850,904	14 6	
1700		1,805	0 0	550	0 0			833,570	2 3	
1701	250	2,659	10 0	725	0 0			751,187	12 10	
1702		255	0 0	225	0 0			438,588	15 0	
1703				200	0 0			473,750	4 3	
1704								305,076	9 2	
1705								192,711	5 0	
1706								261,109	2 6	
1707								327,208	10 0	
1708								404,666	6 3	
1709								713,688	8 6	
1710								395,620	0 10	
1711								484,138	3 7	
1712								600,017	2 1	
1713		535	0 0	1,981	5 0	1,745	15 0	85	460,913	4 6
1714								349,589	19 3	
1715								457,145	10 0	
1716		3,028	10 0	595	0 0	125	0 0	153	564,093	4 4
1717								1,151,112	19 4	
1718		105	0 0					1,893,912	12 6	
1719		1,750	0 0					847,811	8 0	
<hr/>										
	£250	£9,418	0 0	£4,276	5 0	£3,868	15 0	£238	£12,843,860	14 8

OBSERVATIONS ON TABLES<sup>1</sup>

To come at the value of exports sold by England to foreign countries, deduct from the total value of exports as it stands in the inspector's books :

First, nothing on account of overvaluations, because the current prices of goods sold in England every day being more easy to come at than those goods sold in foreign countries, as it is said before, I presume that the medium of the prices are such as differ not very widely from the truth, and consequently that the inspector's books have not made the prices of goods valued among the publick exports greater than they really were.

Secondly I deduct nothing on account of those public exports that were lost or taken at sea and consequently never sold to foreign nations, because, as it is shewn before, the very exports that were lost or taken were nevertheless paid for to England by advance of the prices on those that arrived safe in the foreign markets, beyond their cost clear on board from England. If this were not the case at a medium, all exportation would cease or the merchant be undone. There must therefore be an advance of the prices of the exports sold as well to make good all losses as to afford a profit to the merchant.

So that no overvaluations being presumed, and the loss of some of the exports being paid for by the advance of the prices on the rest, the value of the exports as it stands in the inspector's books might be allowed to be the value of the exports sold to foreign nations.

Thirdly if greater quantitys of goods be valued among the exports that were really exported, the excess of the former ought certainly to be deducted from the inspector's total value and the remainder only ought to be accounted the value of exports sold by England to foreign nations.

If greater quantitys of goods are overvalued among the exports than are exported it must be either :

First by means of double entries ;

Secondly by the merchant's entering outwards, to make ostentation of his trade. In the printed bills of entry, greater quantitys of goods than he after exported.

In both these cases greater quantitys of goods may be valued among the exports than are really exported, for the quantitys in the port of London are valued as they are found in the bills of entry. The inspector-general has no other rule to guide him ; neither can he distinguish by the bills what quantity of goods are twice entered and not exported, but values the whole quantitys in every bill as if they were exported, and therefore in the case of double entries values the same goods twice over, once more than he ought to doe, in the case of entries for ostentation he values goods that never were exported ; in both cases greater quantitys than were exported.

Double entries happen chiefly, if not altogether, in the port of London, where the merchant has sometimes choice of several ships in which to export his goods, and therefore when he has entered out

<sup>1</sup> Table 1 will be found on p. 84, and the remaining tables, 2-15, on pp. 135-49 below.

his goods in one ship he may alter his mind and make a new entry of the same goods in another ; and entries for ostentations in the printed bills, if there is any such thing, can be only in the port of London, for no bills of entry are printed for the out-ports. Besides no part of this charge can be against the out-ports, for the officers return from thence to the inspector-general, not the bills of entry, but the very quantity of goods that are exported, and even in the port of London these entries are chiefly to be said of woollen manufactures, and the few other goods that are exported free.

But now who can believe that the double entries or the entries for ostentation amount to very great quantities ? The merchant will hardly put himself to the trouble or even the charge of a new cocquet for a second entry for the same goods, without apparent necessity and the pretender would soon expose himself to the whole exchange and instead of gaining the reputation of a great trader would be thought a bankrupt or little better.

But lastly, to bring this matter to some certainty, the lords commissioners of trade as I have been informed caused the searchers' books of the port of London (from whence it seems the inspector-general ought rather to be supplied with the quantities of goods exported than from the bills of entry) to be examined, and the quantities of 3 or 4 of our woollen manufactures exported to be extracted for two years since the peace ; and upon comparing the quantities of the inspector-general with those of the searchers' officer the former were found not to exceed 4 per cent in the whole.

Now if the woollen manufactures and the few other goods that are exported free are the chief, if not the only, goods over entered, whether by double entries or entries for ostentation, and if these are not half the whole from the port of London, as indeed they are not, then 4 per cent over entered of the former will not amount to 2 per cent on our whole exports from the port of London; and as the very quantity of goods exported from the out-ports are returned to the inspector general, and nothing is to be deducted from the value of the latter on account of over entries, over entries at the port of London may probably not exceed one per cent, to be deducted on that account from the value of exports from all England.

Nevertheless, because I would not be thought to magnifie the value of exports sold by England to foreign countries in order to render the ballance so much more to our advantage, I have deducted on the account of over entries 2 per cent from the total value of exports which leaves the remainder the whole value of exports sold by England as per Table 1.

And to this I add nothing to goods sold but not valued among the publick exports, nothing for goods clandestinely exported, nothing for our own ships earning freight from foreign nations, because I have considered the value received on those accounts as so much foreign gains, and deducted imports ; and therefore I consider the remainder per Table 1 not only as so much value of exports but as the total value of goods sold by England to foreign nations.

But upon the whole matter, if I have deducted more from the value of exports than I ought, and omitted anything which I ought to have added to it, at least I shall not be accused of magnifying

the value of goods sold by England to render the ballance of trade or the difference between the values bought and sold so much more to our advantage.

*Observations on Table 2d*

I come now to consider the value of goods bought by England, and first the publick imports from East India and Turkey. I joyn these together, not because there is any great similitude between the imports from these countries, but because I flatter myself I shall be able to shew the whole annual value paid by England to both joyned together in the same manner, though a manner very different from that which I shall be obliged to observe towards the imports from other nations.

Table 2d therefore makes the value of goods and foreign coin annually exported to East India and Turkey, as they stand in the inspector-general's books, to be the total value paid by England annually for all the annual imports from those countries.

First, that the value of foreign coin and goods publickly exported to East India and Turkey does some years exceed the whole value of the publick imports from those countries and that our merchants will not be thought so very senseless to pay a greater value for a less.

I answer this is very true. Neither our merchants nor those of any other nations are so senseless to pay a greater value for a less value of imports, but then as to our East India and Turkey trade, the imports of one year are never purchased by the value exported in the same year. The whole value exported in one year, especially to the East Indies, often lyes abroad hatching new gains, and sometimes returns are not made for it for many years. Yet this may be safely affirmed that the whole value exported to east India and Turkey is exported to purchase the goods of those countries, let those goods be imported when they will ; for to those countries we can export no value at all on any other account whatsoever and therefore all that, hath been exported during the whole period of time in the inspector's account was exported to purchase goods for England, though the exports of no one year can be said to be paid away for the imports of the same.

Secondly, if again it shall be objected as to the years when the imports vastly exceed the value of foreign coin and goods exported to Turkey and the East Indies, that foreign coin or bullion may be taken up by bills of exchange by our ships in their way to those countries, or that it may clandestinely exported out of England, and either of these ways a value may be paid for our East India and Turkey imports as well by goods or foreign coin publickly exported, I answer :

First, as to Turkey, we are assured by the Turkey merchants that their manner of carrying on the trade hath generally been by exchanging English goods for those of Turkey. What gives credit to their assertion is that in the account of foreign coin exported there is very little exportation to Turkey, though every one may export free to all parts in the world. Neither can there be the least suspicion that any is clandestinely exported to Turkey, for since every one that pleases may export it publicly without duty, it would

be meer madness in anyone to risque the loss of his bullion by a clandestine exportation of it. The clandestine exportation, attended with so much hazzard, must needs be prevented by the universal allowance of an exportation publick free and subject to no forfeiture, and this universal allowance, which hath been very seldom made use of in the Turkey trade, is a good argument that either it has never been or not an usual practice of Turkey ships to take up pieces of eight by bills of exchange at Cadiz or Leghorn or anywhere else in their way to Turkey, for this at least is some interruption to the voyage, since bills of exchange are seldom or never paid at sight, whereas if pieces of eight are shipt of from England the ships goe on without any interruption and the exportation of pieces of eight from England is always cheaper to the merchant then the least demurrage of the ship to take them up by the way ; and as the exportation of foreign coin is cheaper than taking it up by bills of exchange by the way to Turkey and the demurrage that must be caused by it, the latter can never be necessary but when the pieces of eight are not to be had in England, which I believe seldom or never happened. The little exportation therefore of foreign coin to Turkey proves that none at all is taken up by bills of exchange in the way to that country, and consequently that no more foreign coin is paid for our Turkey imports than appears in the Custom House accounts.

Secondly, as to the East India trade, the company at least is under no necessity of exporting foreign coin clandestinely since they may export freely and publickly what quantity they please and consequently can have no temptation to run any hazzard by a clandestine exportation, besides that publick bodies whose transactions are always open and avowed and known to great numbers are utterly unfit for secret practice ; and to show they pay little or no value on foreign coin taken up by bills of exchange at Lisbon or Cadiz in their way to the East Indies, it has been their custome for many years to direct their ships the shortest passage without stopping any where in the voyage ; and hereto it must be allowed as well as in the case of Turkey that the taking up of pieces of eight by bills of exchange on Lisbon or Cadiz for the East Indies and the demurrage caused by it is a more chargeable way than the exportation of it directly from England. It will follow then, whatsoever value of foreign coin is paid by the company in the East Indies is directly exported out of England ; and that it is also publickly exported is plain because a great body of men are not fitted for clandestine practice. The whole value therefore of foreign coin annually paid by the company to the East Indies appears in the Custom House account. The only doubt is concerning captains of ships and other officers under the company, who are not allowed by their masters to carry any greater value to the East Indies than what they doe by their permission, least they should interfere to much in their trade. The question is whether these people may not take in pieces of eight by bills of exchange in their way, or clandestinely export greater quantitys of foreign coin then they are permitted to doe publickly. As to taking in any value by the way, the company effectually prevents it by prescribing the shortest passage to



their ships; and as to any clandestine exportation, without doubt for their own interest they keep so strict a guard over their own officers besides that of the government, and the thing must be done by so much combination, and that the forfeiture is so very great, that it is not to be believed there can be any exportation (clandestinely) of silver to the East Indies or such as can deserves the least notice in the bulk of so great a trade. I conclude therefore that the foreign coin publickly exported to the East Indies is the whole value of coin annually paid by England to those nations.

I will only add one thing that has been said which is that no imports can be purchased from the East Indies or Turkey by bills of exchange sent thither, for they have no exchange with England or any other country.

If then no value is paid to them by goods or bullion clandestinely exported, none by coin taken up by bills of exchange drawn on the people of those countries, it remains that the whole value paid by England for the goods we have from them is the value of goods and foreign coin publickly exported out of England; or in other words that the East India and Turkey imports purchased at the cost of England are only at the value of foreign coin and goods publickly exported out of England.

A SCHEME SHEWING THE BALLANCE OF TRADE OR THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VALUE OF GOODS BOUGHT AND SOLD BY ENGLAND FOR 21 YEARS ENDING AT CHRISTMAS 1719

TABLE IST

*From Christmas 1696 to Christmas 1699*

Total value exported to all the world, by inspectors books,				£5,937,262 3 0			
except the Spannish W. Indies . . . . .				118,745 4 10			
2 per cent deducted over entries . . . . .				£5,818,516 18 2			
Remainder exported . . . . .							
<i>To 1700</i>		<i>To 1701</i>		<i>To 1702</i>		<i>To 1703</i>	
£6,469,146 6 4		£6,869,865 13 7		£4,797,285 0 5		£6,170,353 1 9	
129,382 18 6		137,397 6 3		95,945 14 0		123,407 1 5	
£6,339,763 7 10		£6,732,468 7 4		£4,701,339 6 5		£6,046,946 0 4	
<i>To 1704</i>		<i>To 1705</i>		<i>To 1706</i>		<i>To 1707</i>	
£6,186,943 9 0		£5,308,966 6 2		£6,250,977 9 7		£6,439,969 18 6	
123,738 17 4		106,179 6 6		125,019 10 11		128,799 7 11	
£6,063,204 11 8		£5,202,786 19 8		£6,125,957 18 8		£6,311,170 10 7	
<i>To 1708</i>		<i>To 1709</i>		<i>To 1710</i>		<i>To 1711</i>	
£6,564,423 12 10		£5,913,357 9 0		£6,295,208 14 4		£5,962,987 12 8	
131,288 9 5		118,267 2 11		125,904 3 5		119,259 15 0	
£6,433,135 3 5		£5,795,090 6 1		£6,160,304 10 11		£5,843,727 17 8	

TABLE I (*continued*)

<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£6,868,840 3 0 137,376 16 0	£6,874,141 6 3 137,482 16 6	£7,984,226 10 2 159,684 10 7	£6,725,571 13 4 135,511 8 8
£6,731,463 7 0	£6,736,658 9 9	£7,824,541 19 7	£6,591,060 4 8
<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£7,049,992 2 7 140,999 16 7	£7,835,626 2 1 156,712 10 5	£6,324,094 4 9 126,481 17 8	£6,834,716 13 7 136,694 6 8
£6,908,992 6 0	£7,678,913 11 8	£6,197,612 7 1	£6,698,022 6 11

*Observations on Table 3d*

Which, after having given the inspector-general's total value of imports from East India and Turkey, and deducted from it the value of these imports purchased at the cost of England, leaves the remainder to be considered either as overvaluations beyond their real cost abroad, or as so much value purchased by foreign gains, or at least not by value publicly exported out of England.

As the thing principally seeking after is the value of foreign goods bought by England, if I have rightly given the value of East India and Turkey imports bought by England in Table 2 it may seem superfluous to enquire after the amount of the overvaluations of the whole imports from those countries by the inspector-general, or of the value purchased by foreign gains or at least not by England.

But because the cost paid by England, Table the 2nd, to the inspector's total value of East India and Turkey imports is such as sometimes leave no remainder at all to overvaluations or to value purchased by foreign gains and sometimes such a remainder as will be thought to great, for both I have given this 3rd Table, and shall now proceed to make some observations upon it.

It appears then per Table 3 that the value paid to East India and Turkey by goods and bullion exported does in some years exceed the inspector's total value of imports from those countries; but it is most years very short of it, consequently in the former nothing remains for overvaluations, nothing to be purchased by foreign gains, freight or otherwise without cost to England.

And yet, as the imports are all valued by fixt and standing prices, if there are overvaluations in some years, there must be supposed that the gains are acquired both in Turkey and East Indies by the advance of the prices on the sale of our goods in those countries, beyond their cost clear on board from England, by trading voyages from one part to another, especially in the East Indies by our governors consuls, merchants, factors and agents in the East Indies and Turkey; and a great deal of freight is earned every year by our ships for exportation of goods to those countries, and also by the carriage of goods from the one part of the East Indies to another, all these being either clear foreign gains or at least so much value received abroad for value not publicly exported. What then becomes of all those gains in those years when the value of goods and bullion exported to the East Indies and Turkey exceeds the

inspector's total value of imports from those countries and leaves no part of them to be purchased by such foreign gains ?

To all this I must answer what I asserted in observations on Table 2, that the value exported especially to Turkey and the East Indies is no year laid out on the imports of the same, but is often continued abroad. Year after year acquiring new gains, and sometimes it is not all returned from the imports in those countries for several years together ; and in this case there ought to be a medium taken of the inspector's total value of imports from Turkey and the East Indies for severall years or perhaps rather of all the years in the preceeding account, and the like medium of the value exported from those countries, and the latter being deducted from the former there will remain a great deal for overvaluations, and a great deal to be purchased by foreign gains.

But if any one shall imagine that there will remain to much for both, I must beg him to consider,

First, as to overvaluations, that are in the inspector's books : calicoes, which comprehends muslins and which is much the greatest part of the whole value imported from the East Indies, is valued in that country from 6 to 9 shillings per piece of 10 yards, the same of exportation out of England are valued from 9 to 15 shill per piece. The medium of the former is 7s. 6d. of the latter 12s.

Now either the former valuation must be a great deal to high for the cost clear on board from the East Indies and or the latter a great deal to low for the cost clear on board from England ; for, according to this proportion, the East India merchant can never sell his goods above 60 per cent advance in England beyond their cost clear on board from the East Indies, out of which 60 must be deducted freight, insurance, commission, the half subsidy, and abundance of other charges, both foreign and English, together with the loss [of] at least two year interest of his money, and, when all this is done, it is to be feared for the profit of his trade and scarce an encouragement sufficient to carry it on. This then is the first proof that the East India price of calicoes is set to high in the inspector's books in comparison with the English price without the duties, that it leaves too small a profit to the merchant.

Secondly if calicoes, without any other duty on it besides the half subsidy cannot be sold here for exportation at above 60 per cent advance beyond the cost in the East Indies, the rest of the duties added on those that stay in England, for our own consumption would not add an advance of 40 more to the former cost, and consequently the whole advance of the price by duties and all other charges would not amount to cent per cent beyond their cost in India. On the contrary it has been frequently complained of that the Indians work at so low wages, at less than the fourth part of the wages given in England, that if it were not for the high duties of some goods and a total prohibition of others, they would undersell and starve all our manufactures ; but how can this be possible if calicoes and muslins, with all the charges, of bringing them here could not yet be sold in England above cent per cent beyond their cost in the East Indies ? But I rather believe their complaint very just.

And therefore, allowing that calicoes are rightly valued at 12s. at a medium at exportation out of England, the cost clear on board from East India at 7s. 6d. per piece must needs be an overvaluation of 2 or 3 shillings.

Again, raw silk from Turkey is almost the whole value imported from that country, and is valued there by the inspector's books at about 16s. 6d. per pound; but unless people are content to improve upon themselves by the denominations of the coins in Turkey without reducing it to sterling value, here must certainly be an overvaluation of about 30 per cent for otherwise it would be hard to account how many thousand hands should be employed by our throwers in that commodity, and also a considerable waste made on it, to raise the price in England so inconsiderably above the Turkish value of it raw, besides that freight and duties and other charges are added to it to raise the price for England.

Doubtless the imports from Turkey and the East Indies are very much over valued beyond the real cost in those countries, and if these overvaluations as cost nothing as well as the value of those imports purchased at the cost of England were separated or deducted from the inspector's total value, there would not be left so astonishing a remainder to be purchased by foreign gains.

Secondly, as to our foreign gains in those countries, they cannot but be very considerable:

First how many English governours, consuls, factors, agents, and merchants have arrived in East India and Turkey at very great estates which they have at last imported into England in the goods of those countries. It has not been a very uncommon thing for a governour of the East India company, after a few years residence abroad, to bring home an estate of £50 or £60,000 value. The goods which these people import are purchased by their foreign gains and cost England nothing. A considerable value of our East India and Turkey imports are purchased every year by such gains.

Secondly, our East India and Turkey companies wait a long time for returns, even the Turkey merchants very seldom less than two years, and doubtless they sell the goods they export at so much the higher prices, and the very advance of the prices on the sale of so great a value of goods as are annually exported to those countries beyond their cost clear on board from England and such an advance as shall be better than the common interest of money must needs amount to a considerable annual summe. This is undoubtedly clear foreign gain and capable of purchasing a great value of our annual imports from those countries.

Thirdly, great gains are many times acquired in the East Indies by trading voyages or by our ships carrying goods from one part to another in those seas.

A gentleman who commanded two ships for the private traders to the East Indies, and was four years out in his voyage, assured me that his whole cargo outwards of both ships was but £6000, that he returned himself in the greater of the two with a cargo that was sold at the candle<sup>1</sup> for above £140,000, and that his lesser ship was lost with her whole cargo, that might have been sold here for £40,000.

<sup>1</sup> That is, at auction by inch of candle.

These valuations no doubt comprehend the English duties which are very high ; but 'tis hard to conceive that goods which, with those duties, would have sold here for £180,000 could have cost less in the East Indies than £50 or £60,000 ; but England was at no more of the charge than the £6000 exported. The rest of the value must have been purchased by the gains of our English residents in the East Indies, or by the gains acquired in this trading voyage, and doubtless a great deal by the latter.

Lastly, freight earned abroad by our ships I allways account among our foreign gains, for though indeed it is so much value for the hire of our ships, yet as the latter are not valued among our public exports I may justly account the former among our foreign gains. The freight earned by so large exportations as are annually made to Turkey and the East Indies and by transporting goods from one port to another in the latter cannot but amount to a great annual sum and capable of purchasing a great value of imports from those countries and is doubtless so employed.

Upon the whole I believe enough has been said to show that, of the inspector-general's total value of imports from East India and Turkey, the overvaluations are so large and so great a value is annually purchased by our foreign gains and the freight of our ships that, after the value purchased at the cost of England per Table 2 deducted, the remainder then will be easily allowed as overvaluations and not purchased by freight and meer foreign gains and not at the cost of England.

#### *Observations on Table 4*

This table, which from the inspector's total value of exports to Affrica and Madera, has deducted his total value of imports from these countries and given the excess or remainder as a ballance due to England ; but that account does not seem to require any observations, for the thing intended here is not to give the value of imports from Affrica and Madera purchased at the cost of England, but only to give the excess of exports to those countries, in order to apply the ballance due to England for that excess towards the payments of the value of imports from the countries mentioned in the following table.

#### *Observations on Table 5*

Table 5, page 1st, the whole value of goods publicly exported to the plantations of Antigua, Barbadoes, Carolina, Jamaica, Mountserat, Nevis, Virginia and Maryland, St. Christophers and the West Indies for imports for these countries ;

Secondly, the whole ballance due to England from Africa and Madera per Table 4 etc. ;

Thirdly, about half such a value as the said ballance, by provision bought in Ireland, and by provisions and lumber paid to the continent of America for the supply of the said plantations ;

Fourthly add whatsoever bullion or foreign coin is annually exported to the said plantations or to Africa and Madera, and lastly gives the total amount of all these summs as the total paid by England to the imports from the above mentioned plantations or as the total value of those imports purchased at the cost of

England. I joyn these plantations altogether because the imports from all doe always exceed the whole value paid by England to them by the several ways above mentioned so that in this case by all these payments we can never be charged with paying a greater value for a less.

I joyn what is called the West Indies in our bills of entries with our said plantations, though indeed no one particular plantation is meant by that name that is common to all our sugar plantations but chiefly to them that are called the Lewards Islands; but if there were no other reason for it the general name West Indies which compréhends so many of our said plantations would oblige me to join them together, because all the imports and exports between England and particular plantations cannot be distinguished as long as so many of them goe under the general name of the West Indies.

Lastly I have joyned Carolina with another above mentioned plantation in this table, because our imports from the former, especially since the act for encouraging the importation of naval stores for the continent of America, have always exceeded the value of goods exported to Carolina, so that the whole value exported may be very well said to be paid in part to our imports from that country, and they are also every year paid a part of the ballance due to us from Affrica and Madera by wine and by slaves from the former.

To all the plantations therefore mentioned in the title of this table:

First, our own goods exported to these countrys are paid by England as part of the imports from the same, but they cannot be paid as the whole value because the latter are of much greater value.

Secondly, the whole ballance due to England per Table 4 from Affrica and Madera is never imported into England, neither by goods nor bullion. It is all laid out in wine and slaves for the said plantations and is carried on thither without taking England in the way, and is therefore so much value indirectly paid by England to those plantations; and I very much question whether we should have any considerably trade with or any ballance due from the former were it not to supply the latter with wine and slaves which they cannot be supplied from hence.

Thirdly, some of these plantations, chiefly Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, are supplied every year with some part of their provisions directly from Ireland and also with provisions and lumber from New England, New York, and Pensilvenia. With Ireland we doe not suffer any of our plantations to trade, so that they may have no way to pay Ireland for the provisions they have from thence but through England; and whatsoever England pays Ireland for the provisions sent from thence to the above mentioned plantations may be said to be so much value indirectly paid for the imports from the latter.

Indeed we suffer all our plantations in America to trade one with another, and therefore our West India islands may send what value of goods they please to New England, New York, and Pensilvenia to pay for the provisions and lumber they receive from thence; but many are of an opinion that the former purchase every year from the

latter a greater value of provision and lumber than they can be satisfied with the annual value of goods they sell to them, and so become indebted in an annual ballance by this trade. If so, how is this ballance paid? It is not impossible that the planters in the West Indies may draw bills upon their correspondents here for the payment of the ballance, and that the people of New England, New York and Pensilvenia may be glad of such bills by which they may be enabled to satisfie so much of their own ballance in which they become annually indebted to England by their trade with us; but this is certain, whatsoever summes England pays to such bills or by taking a debt from the West Indies to those northern provinces upon herself may very justly be allowed to be so much value paid by England for the imports from the former.

Yet I persuade myself the value cannot be very great which England pays annually to the plantations mentioned in the title of this Table, by paying an annual ballance due from them to the northern provinces for provisions they have from thence. Every one of those plantations does not stand in need of provisions and lumber from other countries and the things that are not dear in Ireland or the continent of America; but everyone has annually supplies of wine from Madera and slaves from Africa, as appears by the ballance annually due to us from those places; but, least I should be thought to lessen the value paid by England to the said plantations, everyone I believe will think I overdoe it when I make the value paid by England to Ireland and America for supplying the said plantations with provisions and lumber equal to half the said ballance.

Fourthly, the value of foreign coin and bullion exported to the said plantations is but a trifle and is still more considerable to what is exported to Africa and Madera; but as we purchase a greater value of goods from the former than we sell them, the value exported is so much the more money paid to them, and as the latter purchase of us a greater value than they sell to us, we can have no reason to send money to them unless to purchase goods for our plantations as we doe with the ballance annually due from Africa and Madera so that all the money exported to any of these places is so much paid directly or indirectly to the said plantations, and it can be paid on no other account than for the imports of the same.

I think it cannot be pretended that we pay any thing to the said plantations by any other than the ways above mentioned, for we doe not allow them to trade directly with any European nation (except Great Britain) neither to send directly any of their enumerated commoditys to any other nation, neither to carry from any other nation directly any value of goods whatsoever except provisions as above mentioned; and, thus being the case, we can pay no value to our said plantations by paying for other goods (except wine and provisions, exported directly to them from other European nations. Neither can we suppose to pay them any value by bills of exchange on our European neighbours for what use would those bills of exchange be to them? Would they be enabled by this to carry home gold and silver directly from any other nations? But this they may doe a less round about way for Great Britain.



It remains therefore that the value paid by England to the said plantations is the amount of the goods exported out of England of the ballance due to Affrica and Madera, of not more than half the last value paid to them by Irish provisions and by provisions and lumber from the northern provinces of America, and lastly of the bullion and foreign coin exported to the said plantations or to Affrica and Madera. This therefor I conceive ought to be accounted the whole value paid by England for the imports from the first mentioned plantations in this table or the total value of imports annually purchased from them at the cost of England.

*Observations on Table 6*

If in the former table I have rightly given the value of imports from the plantations mentioned in the title of that table, howmuchsoever the inspector's total value of imports may exceed that value I need not be solicitous how he came by that excess, since it is certain it cannot be said to be purchased at our cost, and since the thing we are principally looking after is the value of goods bought by England.

But because the whole value of imports purchased from the said plantations by England, being deducted from the inspector's total value of imports, leaves so great a remainder as is seen in this table, I desire to leave to account, for it is as well as I am able.

First then, I think a great part of it to the inspector's overvaluations of those imports as to brown sugar and tobacco, which are vastly the greatest part of the value of those imports and perhaps not much less than  $\frac{4}{5}$  of the whole. The inspector's books value the former at 27s. 6d. per lb. with the latter about 2d.  $\frac{1}{4}$  per lb.

But who ever heard of such a price as 27s. 6d. per lb. for brown sugar in our plantations? It has not been a very common price in England, with the whole load of freight, insurance, and duties, merchant's gains and other charges in England where the money is above 30 per cent better than money of the same denomination in those countries where the freight, insurance, duties, and other charges (without leaving any gain for the merchant) amounts to above 10 of the former summe. These goods therefore must be overvalued at least 40 per cent in the plantations. That which I believe might draw my predecessors into such a valuation of brown sugar might be the denomination of coins both in England and the plantations, though the coins in the former are now  $\frac{2}{3}$ ds of the value of the latter; but if 10s. or more is to be deducted in the plantations of their valuation of brown sugar, the remainder left by this table will be very much reduced.

The case of tobacco is not very different. Nine farthings per lb is I doubt about 3 farthings sterling paid in Virginia and Maryland so that on this article there is an overvaluation of between 30 and 40 per cent.

And, if 30 per cent or thereabouts is to be deducted from the inspector's value of imports from all the plantations in title of Table 5 the remainder left by this table to be purchased by freight and foreign gains would hardly be thought too great for:—

First, the advance of the prices on such a value of goods as are



annually exported to those plantations and such an advance too as must afford the exporter a medium and a profit better than the common interest of money, over and above all charges and losses, cannot but amount to a great annual summe ;

Again, every cargoe sent from England to Ireland, Madera and Affrica to purchase provisions, wines and slaves for the plantations, are sold in the former at advance prices beyond their cost in Ireland, Madera and Africa. The gains of all these trading voyages cannot be inconsiderable ;

Thirdly, many of the people in those plantations send annually to England on their own account, great quantities of goods which are valued among the publick imports. All that they send more than serves to pay the freight, the value of the necessaries they receive from hence, must be allowed to be purchased by meer foreign gains of the planters, and to be no cost at all to England. Almost every planter has a summe of money in the hands of his English correspondent ; many of them have estates in the publick funds and lands purchased by them all over the kingdom ; and how came they by this money and these estates ? England was at no charge in this matter. The imports that were converted into these estates were purchased every year by meer foreign gains of these planters, and doubtless the imports purchased every year by the mere foreign gains of these people are very great.

Lastly, not to insist upon the foreign gains of factors and merchants which live and trade in those plantations only to get estates which at last they invest in the imports from those countries, and which are purchased by their foreign gains and not by England, I must add to the above mentioned foreign gains the freight carried by our ships in those plantations by the exportation of our goods to them on their account, trading voyages such as above mentioned, for the freight earned abroad by our ships is indeed so much value for the use of our ships, which in effect is so much value sold to foreign nations ; yet since it is not valued on the side of our exports, since no credit is given for it among the goods sold by England per Table 1, I ought to account the freight there earned from foreign nations as clear foreign gains and the value of the foreign goods purchased by such freight as purchased by so much foreign gain, or at least not purchased by value exported out of England, or for which any credit is given on the side of our exports or goods sold by England to foreign nations.

Now if £30 value of our exports were allowed to every ton of shipping, and but 40s. per ton could be earned, yet on so great a value of goods as are annually exported to the said plantations or to Ireland, Affrica and Madera on their account the very freight would amount to a considerable annual summe.

Upon the whole matter, if from the inspector's total value of imports from the above mentioned plantations were to be seperated the value purchased at the cost of England, Table 5, the remainder left per Table 6 will not be thought to great to be reckoned either as overvaluations, which are shewn before to be very great and cannot be said to be purchased at all, or as value purchased by freight and foreign gains and not otherways at the cost of England

*Observation on Table 7*

In this Table I have made just so much of the value of our exports to be paid to the imports from Africa and Madera as it is equal to the inspector's value of those imports, without deducting from it on account either of overvaluations or value purchased by foreign gains.

Doubtless if I have by doing so made our payments to Africa and Madera greater than I ought to have done, for it will not be believed that the inspector has been so fortunate to overvalue none of the imports, from those countries, or that we never make any gains by our trade to them, by advance of the prices of our goods, by freight or otherwise, therefore by making our payment equal to the inspector's total value of those imports I have paid not only for his overvaluations for which nothing was paid at all, but also for all that part of the value of those imports, which were purchased by foreign gain and not by value exported out of England.

The reasons now why I have made no deduction from the inspector's value of imports from Africa and Madera which would have lessened our payments in those countries are :

First, with respect to the inspector's overvaluations, if I had deducted anything on this account our payments had been so much less certainly to Africa and Madera and a greater ballance had been due to England from those countries but then as the whole ballance due to us is always paid over to our plantations per Table 5, to our imports from the latter, by deducting from our Affrica and Madera imports on account of the inspector's overvaluations I had indeed lessened our annual payments of those countries to our plantations imports per Table 5, so that still our whole payments must have remained the same, not indeed to Affrica and Madera but to those and our plantations joined together. Our whole exports to the former had been still paid to both and 'tis not the value paid to particular countries by England which I am seeking after, but the value paid to all nations whatsoever, which I should not have lessened at all by deducting from the imports of Africa and Madera on account of overvaluations. Again with respect to our foreign gains in these last countries I have made them all among other foreign gains to be laid out on part of our imports from our own plantations per Table 6, and therefore cannot pay them over again to the imports of Africa and Madera. If I should, what use would it serve? It would indeed render our payments to the last countries so much less part of our exports to them sufficient to pay for the imports from those countrys, and consequently the greater ballance due to England from them, but then it is in this as well as the former case of overvaluations that greater ballance would be paid to all our plantations imports per Table 5, for this is certain, whatsoever are the overvaluations of our imports from Africa and Madera, whatsoever part of their value is purchased by foreign gains, our whole exports to them will still be paid to them and our plantations joynd together, and we should not at all lessen our whole payments to the imports from all the world.

For these reasons I have not been solicitous to find out the inspector's overvaluations of imports from Affrica and Madera or to make any part of their value purchased by foreign gain and not by England, since still our whole exports to them and our plantations joyned together would be the same.

*Observations on Table 8*

Hitherto I have endeavoured to show <sup>1</sup> directly the value paid by England to the imports <sup>2</sup> from East India and Turkey from the plantations named in title of Table 5 from Africa and Madera, by showing the total value paid to those countries respectively per Tables 2, 5, 7.

I proceed now to all other countries which are enumerated in Table 8, to some of which the exports exceed, from others, the imports; but taken altogether the exports vastly exceed the imports in value.

Now to all these countries I must endeavour in the first place to find out the amount of the overvaluations, and of the value purchased by foreign gains and freight, and this <sup>3</sup> amount being deducted from <sup>4</sup> the inspector's total value of imports from all the last mentioned countries the remainder is to be taken for the total value of those imports purchased at the cost of England.

For it is impossible to shew the whole value directly paid by England for the imports of those countries because I have not the like medium by which to doe it as I had in the case of those from East India and Turkey, or those from the plantations, or those from Madera and Affrica.

To the imports from East India and Turkey I might affirm that all our goods, all the bullion exported to those countries, was all paid and the whole paid for the imports from those countries; but that it was all paid for those imports, because it could not be paid on any other account, this was not paying a greater value for a less, since a great deal still remains for overvaluations and for value purchased by foreign gains. Secondly that was the whole that was paid by England to those imports, because no other value could be pretended to be paid those countries for those imports, and the paying our whole exports to the plantations mentioned in Table 5 with the overvaluations therein mentioned and nothing more for the imports from those plantations is justified by the same reasons.

But to all the countries in Table 8 taken together or those of 'em only to which the exports exceed, the whole exports cannot be pretended to be paid for the imports from those countries, because this would make us pay a greater value for a less and much more if I should have affirmed that the bullion exported to these countries was also paid for those imports and, besides there being an exchange between most of these last countries, bullion may be exported at one country to be paid over to other countries, and it may be exported also on other accounts then to pay for imports, viz. to paye debts due for summs borrowed, or interest for the same, or

<sup>1</sup> MS. here has 'how.'

<sup>3</sup> MS. here has 'I.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. here has 'to.'

<sup>4</sup> MS. 'to.'

to pay any subsistence to armys kept abroad and subsidys to foreign princes, etc., therefore the whole value of goods and foreign coin exported to these countries cannot be pretended to be paid for those imports.

Again to Africa and Madera I might, as I have done in Table 7, make such a part of the value of exports to those countries as is equal to the imports from the same to be the whole paid by England for these imports, because I was able to pay the ballance or excess of those exports over to the imports from the plantations, and yet still leave enough of the latter for the overvaluations of values purchased by foreign gains as is seen in Table 6.

But if I should make only such a part of the value of the exports to the countrys enumerated in Table 8 as it is just equal to the imports from the latter to be taken [as] the whole paid for those imports, to what country shall the remainder of the excess of those exports be paid over and how shall I be able to come at overvaluations or value of the last imports purchased by foreign gains?

Lastly as to all the countries in Table 8 from which the imports exceed I might indeed make the whole exports to be paid in part of the value of those imports, but how should I be able to show what is otherways paid per bills of exchange on other countries to which we have exported an excess of goods or bullion, or how shall I be able to come at the overvaluations of imports from the former or the value purchased by foreign gains?

Indeed of the several countries from which the imports exceed, Ireland has little or no exchange with any other but ourselves, so that we cannot well pay for an excess of imports from Ireland, otherwise then by bullion exported out of England; but there are so many other occasions for sending bullion to that country such as paying for the effects of Englishmen who remove their familys and estates into Ireland as a cheaper country, the paying the fortunes to Irishmen that come here for no other reason but to get wives or fortunes, the keeping great armies there on foot, to keep the popish interest in subjection, then the revenues of the kingdom will maintain. For all these reasons, 'tis impossible to assign what part of the bullion exported to Ireland is paid for an excess of imports from the country.

Since therefore there is no way to come directly to the value paid by England to all or any of the nations in Table 8, the way must be first to discover the overvaluations in the Inspector's account, secondly the value, purchased by foreign gains, and, these being deducted from the inspector's total value of imports from all these countries, the remainder is the total value purchased at the cost of England.

The present Table 8 therefore haveing first set down the inspector's value of all the imports from the several countries named in it, deducts 10 per cent as the least that ought to be deducted from that value, on account of overvaluations, and leaves the remainder as the real value of imports from those countries.

That the account of overvaluations may not be thought extravagant I will consider it in a few particulars:

	£	s.	d.
Portugal wines are valued per inspector in that country per pipe	12	10	0
The duties are	13	15	0
Freight, leakage, insurance, lighterage etc.	2	0	0
The whole charge foreign and English per the inspector is	28	5	0

The merchant would have little encouragement if for all this charge he were not to clear about £2 so the whole charge to the buyer would be £30 5s. *od.*, notwithstanding it is sold at the keys at about £24 so there must be an overvaluation of £6 5s. *od.* per pipe. This on about 19 or 20,000 pipes, the usual annual importation, would amount almost to the summe of £120,000.

Spanish wines are valued at about £11 per pipe; the customs are higher; the other charges must be the same with those on Portugal, altogether with the merchant's profit, enough to raise the price to an English buyer to between £29 to £30 per pipe; yet they are sold as cheap as Portugal. This therefore must be too much by £5, which on about 13,000 pipes, the usual importation, would amount to above £60,000.

Canary wines are valued at about £34 per pipe, about £7 too much; this on about 3500 pipes, the usual importation, is above £24,000.

Oyl ordinary is valued at about £28 10s. per tun, about £3 too much, this on about 2500 tuns is above £7000.

Hemp rough is valued at 17s. per cwt., about 4s. too much, this about 200,000 cwt., the usual importation, will amount to above £40,000.

The overvaluations on these few articles amount to £270,000 and this, to £3,000,000 value usually imported from the countries named in Table 8, will amount to 9 per cent of the whole value; but I believe if I were to goe through every species of goods over valued among the imports the summe total of overvaluations would amount to more than twice 9 per cent on the inspector's whole value of imports; but I am persuaded I shall not be thought to overdoe it if I should deduct 10 per cent for overvaluations to which England cannot be said to have paid anything. Thus therefore I have done per Table 8 and left the remainder as the utmost real value of all our imports from those countries.

#### *Observations on Table 9*

To shew the value of imports purchased by foreign gains from the countries mentioned in Table 8, this table makes the value paid by foreign gains to these countries equal at least to 20 per cent of our whole exports to those countries and therefore:

First lays down the value of those exports as they stand in the inspector's books;

Secondly, as by Table 1 to come at the value of exports to all nations deduct 2 per cent from the inspector's value, for double or over entries, so Table 9 deducts 2 per cent from the inspector's value of exports to the countries named in Table 8 on the same account;

Thirdly makes the remainder the whole value of the real exports to the last countrys ;

Fourthly, and then gives 20 per cent of this last value as a summe not superior to our foreign gains in these countries.

But least I should be thought to overvalue our foreign gains by making them equal to 20 per cent of the whole value of our real exports, and least anyone should be startled at the greatness of the value of the imports which I have made to be purchased by mere foreign gains without any cost from England, or at least without any value publicly exported, I begg leave to consider a little more particular<sup>[ly]</sup> our several foreign gains in the countries mentioned in Table 8.

First by advance of the prices on the scale of our exports in those countries beyond their cost clear on board from England,

Secondly by our fisherys and other trading voyages,

Thirdly by the commission and trade of our merchants, factors and agents abroad,

Fourthly by our ships earning freight from all those countries, which at least, if not clear gains, will be allowed to be a value received for value not publicly exported, and to this may be added the value received for wool clandestinely exported, which also has no credit given to it among our exports.

I am not so fond as to imagine that I can come at the exact value of these several gains, but as they all tend to lessen the cost paid by England to our imports and to render the ballance of our trade more advantageous to us then it appears to be on the bare view of the difference between the values imported and exported, I will endeavour at least to show that I have not overvalued our foreign gains.

First then as to the advice of the prices on the sale of our exports in those countries beyond their cost clear on board from England, I think it ought to be such as besides paying the exporter his losses, insurance, commission and all other charges, shall afford him a profit better then the common interest of money. If this were not the case at a medium, I believe all exportation would be at an end ; the continuance of our trade or rather the encrease of it is a demonstration that the merchants find their account in it but this they could not doe if their clear profits at a medium over and above all charges and losses were not better than common interest of money. This they might have with sitting still, and they would not be at so much pains for less profit.

But how much more than common interest will be necessary to keep life in trade, is the question ? Surely a profit of one or two per cent more will never be thought sufficient for this purpose. The bare annual common interest for money is very seldom more then sufficient to answer annual expences of the persons that receive it. The profit of trade that subsists so many men in a way of living beyond that of gentlemen of estates, that has raised so many from small beginnings as we have seen to flourish with their coaches and equipages and often to buy gentlemen out of their rents, which are nothing else but their common interest, cannot but very much exceed this common interest ; and I believe, should

I affirm it to be at a medium as much again <sup>1</sup> at least over and above all losses, no man in the world would think me at all mistaken. 6 per cent was the common interest for money during almost all the years in which I am endeavouring to give the state of our trade; and therefore I cannot but suppose that 12 per cent at least was the annual profit of money employed in trade during the same period. I believe it to have been much more but I persuade myself I shall not be accused of making it too much, and indeed if it were less I should be hardly able to account how many Englishmen, traders especially, have arrived at such vast estates in the publick funds and in lands all over the kingdom. I think it is not well to be supposed if the profits of trade were not a great deal more then I have made them.

But to come at the profit arising annually to our merchants on the sale of their exported goods in the last mentioned countries it would be necessary to find out:

1st the whole value of the stock employed in this foreign trade and compute 12 per cent on that value which is supposed to be the merchants' profit;

2dly to distinguish how much of this profit arises by the advance of our prices on the sale of exports in foreign countrys, and how much of the sale of their returns in England, the latter being gain to the merchants out of the pockets of their own countrymen and consequently not to be accounted foreign gains. As to the first I conceive the whole stock employed in trade is equal to the whole value of our exports, and that such a value is sufficient both to furnish out the exports and to make all the returns which are purchased by part of the prices arising by the sale of goods exported, the exports in all the countries in Table 8 being taken together vastly exceed the returns on the imports from the same. I suppose therefore that the merchants' whole annual profit is equal to 12 per cent of the whole value of our exports; though it does not all arise by advance of the prices on the sale of these exports abroad beyond their cost clear on board from England, but partly by advance of the prices on the sale of their returns or imports in England.

If it should be objected here against the necessity of employing a stock in our foreign trade equal to the whole value of our exports to the last mentioned countries, and consequently against the profit equal to 12 per cent of that value being necessary to afford the merchant 12 per cent annual profit for the whole stock employed in our trade because of the shortness of some of the voyages by which he is enabled to make several returns in the same year;

I answer that many of the voyages are indeed short and several returns might be made within the year, but that many of them are also long so that the returns cannot well be made in that time, and if to this shall be added that our exports abroad and our imports at home are seldom sold presently, but lie often long in hand waiting for a market, I believe it will be thought necessary that the stock to carry on our foreign trade to these last countries should be equal to the annual value of our own exports to them; and if the

<sup>1</sup> MS. here inserts 'and.'



merchant will not be thought to have any great encouragement to trade if his annual profits shall not be equal to 12 per cent of his stock, his whole gain both foreign and domestick, that is by the advance of the prices on the sale of our exports abroad and our imports at home, must be at least of that value: and therefore all owning the stock in our trade to these countries to be equal to the annual value of the exports it is easy to compute 12 per cent of that value at least for the merchant's profits.

Secondly, the difficulty will be to distinguish how much of this profit arises by the advance of the prices on the sale of our exports in foreign countries beyond their cost clear on board from England, which alone can be accounted his foreign gain, and how much by the advance of prices on the sale of our imports beyond their costs clear on board from foreign countries, which is his domestick gain out of pockets of his own countrymen.

First, it may be said in general that his foreign gain has at least as much in proportion to the exports as his domestick gain to the imports, otherwise the latter would exceed the former, which they will be found not to by comparing the imports as they stand at the foot of the Table 8 as they are valued in the first line Table 9, for the merchant would naturally run into greater importations if there were greater profit to be made by his so doing. I might therefore justly allow the greater advance of the prices on the sale of our exports in proportion than on the sale of our imports; but I allow them to be the same, which shows I am not for magnifying our foreign gains.

Secondly, if any man will be at the pains to compare the medium of the value of the exports in this table with that of the imports in the former, he will find the proportion of the exports to the imports as 54 to 30; and if he will also be at the pains to proportion to both a profit equal 12 per cent on the former, the gains on each will be above  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent and consequently our foreign gains by advance of the prizes on the sale of our exports abroad beyond their cost at home will be above  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the whole value of exports.

Our Newfoundland<sup>1</sup> fishery is our next foreign gains. The ships that goe from England to Newfoundland carry very little with them but men, provisions, and fishing tackle; they load with fish on the banks of Newfoundland which they carry directly for Spain, Portugal, or the Streights. The whole number value received for this fish ought to be accounted clear foreign gains. It is said about 150 sale of ships are employed every year in this trade, and if everyone delivers 2000 quintalls at 20s. per quintall at the last mentioned places, which is no uncommon price, the whole sum will amount to £300,000, or about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of a sum equal to the last mentioned exports if the same were to be taken in one medium.

Our coasting fishery for hake, haddock, ling, poor jack, with that of Ireland for stock fish are the same kind as that of Newfoundland, and are valued by many as equal to it. Their exportations out of England are next to nothing. The fish those ships load at sea they carry on directly to foreign marketts in the east country, Sweden

<sup>1</sup> MS. here has 'and.'



and other places, without taking England in their way, so that the whole produce of that fish is clear foreign gains and I am persuaded may very well be valued as equal to 2 per cent of the last mentioned exports.

Some trading voyages from port to port we make in those countries, but particularly in the Streights where our ships have sometimes doubled their stocks they carried out of England by freight and by selling a cargoe taken in at one port for an advanced price at the next; but the gain of all our trading voyages in those countrys I would not value higher than one per cent of our exports to the same.

We have in most of these countries English houses, English merchants and factors and agents who have commission to buy and sell for our merchants here and who generally trade for themselves. Factors have at least 2 per cent commission in the countreys nearest to us; in others a great deal more, and 'tis natural to believe Englishmen are more trusted with these commissions than foreigners, but if the former have for their share but one half the commission buissness from England it must amount to a great summe of all that we buy and sell in other countries. By this and their trade abroad many of them return with very good estates to England, I cannot value the gain coming to England this way at less then 2 per cent of the whole value of exports of those countries.

The last but not the least of our foreign gains is the freight earned by our shipping by exportation of goods to those countries: at least  $\frac{3}{4}$  of this whole exportation is made in English shipping. As to the woollen manufactures and other bale goods, which may be near half the whole exportation, a great value of goods will goe in a little room of shipping perhaps £200 value into one tun of shipping, and possibly two millions value into 10,000 tons. Sugars and tobacco are more bulky goods, yet even these are, of their most usual cost clear on board from England, £30 or £40 value may goe to a ton of shipping.<sup>1</sup> Lead and many other English goods will hardly ammount to £10 per ton, and coin which is sometimes a prodigious exportation will hardly amount to £5 per ton clear from England with the bounty that goes along with it. Many other bulky goods are a great deal lower and coals from New Castle will hardly exceed 5 shillings, the London chaldron, which is more than a tun, so that I believe I should not be out of the way if I were to value our whole exportation to these countries at a medium at £25 per ton, at which value £5,400,000 the medium of the exportation would require almost 220,000 tons of shipping to export them, as  $\frac{3}{4}$  of this exportation is formed by English shipping, about 162,000 tons of the latter.

To the nearest country perhaps 20s. freight may be sufficient, to those at a greater distant 40s., but to many of them £3 or £4 will be necessary. I believe the medium cannot be reckoned at less than £2 per ton which on 162,000 tons will amount to 324,000 and this amounts to £6 per cent of £5,400,000 which is the medium of the whole exportation.

<sup>1</sup> The text is here confused: the meaning evidently is that at the most usual cost £30 or £40 worth of sugar or tobacco will go to a ton of shipping.

To lay all these matters together I have made the advance of the prices

On sale of our exports in the last mentioned countrys	7½ per cent
Our foreign gains by Newfoundland fishery . . . . .	5½
Other gains per other fisherys . . . . .	2
Our gain per trading voyages . . . . .	1
Our gain per factors, agents, merchants abroad . . . . .	2
Our freight earned to these countries . . . . .	6

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Our whole foreign gains equal to . . . . . 24 per cent

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of the whole value of exports to the severall countrys mentioned. In Table 8 but I verily believe I shall not be accused of overvaluing these foreign gains if I have only made them equal to 20 per cent, of that value which is all that is done in Table 9.

*Observations on Table 10*

If in the preceding table I am rightly got to the value of our foreign gains in the countries mentioned in Table 8, or to such a value as will not be allowed to exceed those gains, the question will be now what I am to doe with them.

It is certain that the value of these foreign gains must come to England either in money or in goods.

If in the former it ought to be added to the value of our exports, not indeed to increase the value of our exports but to make the whole value due to England from the said countries equal to both our exports from England and our foreign gains in those countries.

If the latter then it must be acknowledged that so much value of imports was purchased by our foreign gains and that whatsoever was so purchased was not purchased at the cost of England, or by value exported out of England, in which case the value purchased by foreign gains ought to be deducted from the total value of imports to give us the remainder, which alone can be accounted the value of imports purchased at the cost of England.

But it will come to the same thing, whether I add the value coming to us by our foreign gains to that coming from our exports or deduct from the imports as much value as is equal to the whole amount of our foreign gains; either way the ballance of our trade will be the same.

And therefore I have thought my self at liberty to chuse the latter way and have accordingly in Table 10 laid out our whole foreign gains on so much value of imports and deducted from the value purchased by these gains as not purchased at the cost of England from the value of imports as it stands at the foot of Table 8 and have taken the remainder only which is left for this present table as the value of those imports purchased at the cost of England.

*Observations on Table 11*

Having given the value paid by England to the imports from East India and Turkey by Table 2 from several plantations per Table 5 from Africa and Madera per Table 7 from all other countries per Table 10, and consequently the whole value of publick imports purchased by England from all the world, I am in the next place

to enquire into the value of all other foreign goods which may be as truly said to be bought by England as any of our publick importations yet are not valued among the publick imports in many of the foregoing tables:—

1st the goods that are purchased abroad and lost or taken in their way to England.

2dly ships built in other countries and sold in England,

3dly ships of foreign countries earning freight from England, which may be accounted a foreign commodity bought per England of the value of that freight,

4thly goods clandestinely imported.

These are goods that are neither entered at the Custom House nor valued among the publick imports yet are as truly bought by England as any other goods whatsoever, and it will be impossible to give a tolerable ballance of our trade or difference between the value bought and the value sold per England unless we can give some tolerable [account] of these goods which are not valued among the publick imports.

In the present of this Table 11 I concern my self only with the two first articles, *viz.* foreign goods lost or taken in their way to England, and ships built abroad and sold here. The value I make no more than equal at 10 per cent of the imports purchased at the cost of England by the preceding table, for which I ought now to give my reasons.

Among the goods bought from foreign countries but lost or taken in their way to England, I reckon none from East India and Turkey, none from the above mentioned plantations, none from Africa and Madera, because in Tables 2, 5 and 7 I have endeavoured to show the whole or utmost value paid by England to those countries on all accounts whatsoever. If I have succeeded in that endeavour,<sup>1</sup> I have shown not only the whole value paid by her for goods imported but for all that were bought there by England and lost or taken in their way hither. If those tables have given the whole that England has paid to those countries, she cannot be said to have paid more than the whole, neither for losses or any other account whatsoever; but, that we might be able to account how these losses are paid for without any more charge to England than is contained in the above mentioned payments, it is certain that great gains are acquired in those countries the value of which is not stated and determined, and as a considerable value of imports is left by Tables 3 and 6 to be purchased by foreign gains, so, for anything that appears to the contrary, the goods that are lost and taken in their way to England from those countries may be purchased by those gains. This however is certain, that if the whole value by England is paid for imports no other value can be paid by England for losses.

It remains therefore that I am only to account for the value of goods purchased by England in the several countries mentioned in Table 8 but lost or taken at sea and never imported into England, for in Table 10 I have pretended no farther than to give the value of imports purchased from those countries but not of any losses,

<sup>1</sup> MS. here has 'if.'

which is now to be done. Not that I am so vain to imagine I shall state the exact value of such losses. It will be sufficient for my purpose if I can offer such a value as they shall not be thought to exceed, for then I shall not be accused on this head of overvaluing the goods bought by England to render the ballance of our trade more advantageous to us than I ought.

The medium I shall make use of, to come at a value which I shall make use of to exceed our losses homewards, is that of insurance which perhaps is three times as high in times of war as in years of peace, but in both this will be allowed, *viz.* that the insurer must find out his account and profit, that is, the premiums he has taken on all the goods that come safe home; or in other words are imported, must be more than sufficient to pay for losses and captures at sea. This must be the case or all insurance would be at an end.

Now I am persuaded that if any man were to take such of the countries in Table 8 as lie at the greatest distance from England he would find that 10 per cent of the full value of the goods at a medium would exceed the insurance from those countries, and this even in time of war and where the ships venture without convoys, but when they are guarded home by convoys the insurance is a great deal lower and in that time of peace is next to nothing. If any man would consider all these things and that almost half the years in the preceding account were years of peace, I believe instead of 10, 6 or 7 per cent insurance would be found sufficient as to the countries that lie at the greatest distance from England.

But then if any man will turn his eyes from these to the countries that lie nearest England and from whence we purchase a greater value of goods than from those at a greater distance, as appears by the Custom House account of imports in time of peace, the insurance hardly deserves our notice. In time of war almost the whole navigation is performed through guards of our own and the Dutch fleets so that one can hardly rate the insurance from these at above  $\frac{1}{2}$  the value of that from the countries at greater distance nor perhaps the insurance from both, at a medium in peace or war, at above 5 or 6 per cent of the value of goods.

This account of the matter would not make the value of goods purchased by England in those countries as the goods that are imported in them yet are not entered or valued among the imports.

New England and some other of our provinces on the continent of America build ships every year which after two or three voyages they commonly sell in England. We have frequent advertisements in our publick prints of ships New England built to be sold, and many have imagined that 3 or 4 score sail of these ships are sold in England in a year.

This is one of the ways by which those provinces are enabled to pay us for the vast excess of exports they annually receive from hence beyond the value of goods they import into England. We are not restrained from buying or using ships built in those provinces by the Act of Navigation, which I think we have reason to be pleased with, not only for their sakes (the people of those countries being a part of ourselves) but for our own, because we export no

bullion on this account, nothing else but goods, and those chiefly English manufactures by which our poor [are] employed, and besides the purchasing of such ships which are cheaper than can be built here renders our navigation cheaper, and with a dear navigation we must not hope to be the carriers of all the world.

The Act of Navigation is so very severe against the use of other foreign built ships that we may safely pronounce that none are sold in England, and as for those of our plantations they are generally very low prized, not above £300 or £400 one with another, so that the purchase of 100 such ships in a year (and I never heard of so great a number) would hardly amount to £40,000 and would be very seldom to 3 not very often 2 per cent of the value of imports purchased by England per Table 10. Upon the whole I believe no one will have any reason to value our losses from the last mentioned countries at more than 5 per cent or the value of ships foreign built at more than 2 per cent, that is both only as equal to 7 or 8 per cent ; yet that I may not be accused of undervaluing our purchases from foreign countries which are not valued among the publick imports, Table 11 after haveing given the value of imports purchased by England according to Table 10 has allowed our payments to losses and plantation built ships as equal to 10 per cent of that value.

#### *Observations on Table 12*

I proceed in the next place to the value of freight paid by England to the ships of our plantations and other countries for, though no credit is given for this value on the side of our publick imports, yet it as truly value paid to a foreign commodity as any that is paid to those imports, and the thing sought for is not the value of publick imports bought by England only but of all our foreign purchases whatsoever.

I think it will not be pretended that a  $\frac{1}{5}$  part of the value of our imports from all our plantations, both in the islands and on the continent of America is imported by our New England and all other plantation shipping and consequently that any more then any one of the  $\frac{1}{5}$  part of the freight for that whole importation is paid to our plantation shipping.

As to freight paid by England to the shipping of other nations ; the Danes, Sweeds, and other neutral people in time of the late war very often imported the goods of their own growth in their own ships and received freight from England for such importations, but this is almost at an end since the peace. Almost all importations now from all countries except our own plantations are performed by our own shipping.

But in general it may be said that foreigners are under such restraints by our Act of Navigation against importing goods, except of the growth and manufacture of their own countries, and the navigation from these to England is so very short in comparison with that from our plantations, that whether in peace or war the whole value of freight paid by England to all other foreign shipping cannot be esteemed equal to that which is paid to the shipping of our own plantations. However, to allow the most I suppose it to be equal.

This being premised, I take this way to find out the value of freight paid by England to this foreign commodity.

In the first place I have set down in Table 12 the total value of all our imports from all our plantations both in the islands and on the continent of America as it stands in the inspector's books.

Secondly, to come to the numbers of tons necessary to make this whole importation, I allow £24 value for those goods to every ton of shipping, in which case the inspector's total value of those imports divided by 24 will produce the numbers of tons of shipping necessary for that whole importation.

I am convinced that the real value of goods imported from those countrys cannot well exceed £15 to every ton at a medium, but as they happen to be overvalued in the inspector's books particularly in the two great articles of sugar and tobacco, as is observed before, I conceive I ought not to allow less than £24 of the inspector's value of those goods to every ton of shipping to produce the number of tons necessary for that whole importation, and accordingly I allow so much and make my division per the last summe.

3dly, £4 per ton is the common freight paid for importation from those plantations and this being multiplied by the number of tons necessary for that whole importation gives the total value of freight paid upon that account whether to our own or our plantation shipping.

4thly, if the value paid to our plantation shipping is rightly said before not to exceed one fifth part of the whole value of freight paid for that whole importation which is set down in the preceding line, the whole freight paid to our plantation shipping will not exceed the summes mentioned in the fourth line of this table.

Lastly, if the whole freight paid to other countries cannot be thought to amount to the value of the freight paid to our plantation shipping, for the reasons I have given above, then the whole value of freight paid by England both to our plantations and all other countries cannot be double to that which is paid to our plantations only. Nevertheless I have ventured to give the double of this last sum not as the very value of freight paid by England to the shipping both of our plantations and all other countries, but as such as<sup>1</sup> the whole paid on account of this foreign commodity cannot be thought to exceed.

#### *Observations on Table 13*

There remains now no other goods purchased by England which are not accounted for before except our clandestine imports, to which may be added such goods that are shipt of for exportation to draw back the duties of importation or because they are prohibited to be used in England and then clandestinely relanded, for the latter being valued among the exports ought to be valued again on the side of the imports or else there will be no possibility of setting the whole value of goods bought by England in opposition to our real exports or goods sold by England; and without doeing this there

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'on.'

is no possibility of coming at the difference between both or any tolerable ballance of our trade which is the thing sought after.

I am not so ridiculous to imagine I can give the very value of all the goods clandestinely imported or relanded: as aforesaid the utmost I shall aim at is to give such a value as they cannot be reasonably thought to exceed. In each case the whole value of foreign goods bought by England will not be thought greater than I have made it.

The articles of clandestine imports and of goods clandestinely relanded which are complained of by the fair traders and which we may therefore reasonably conclude are vastly greater than all others are the brandys and wines of France, the wrought silks of France and Holland, pepper, tea, coffee, and muslin, which are charged with additional duty of £15 per cent at the sale, and chints or <sup>1</sup> calicoes East India stained, which are prohibited to be worn in England.

To begin with French brandys, our whole importation and consumption is said to have been about 5000 tons when the customs were next to nothing; the Revolution and first French war that followed presently upon it and high duties soon after to continue in time of peace put an end to that importation; to supply the wants of this a new manufacture of English spirits was erected which has increased to that degree that if we can give credit to our distillers, a hundred thousand quarters of [malt] have been annually consumed in this manufacture. If this is true our English distillers are become a new market for the 30th part of all the malt made in England, which by the tax of 4s. per quarter does not raise above £600,000 per annum at a medium. It is not to be wondered at if gentlemen are jealous of the loss of such a market that takes of so much of the product of their lands; the distillers all cry out this market must be entirely ruined by the vast clandestine importation of French brandy.

Such as have the management of the excise might be able to show by the decrease of that on malt spirits how much justice there is in this complaint of these distillers, though it must not be imagined that for the decrease of every gallon of our own spirits a gallon of French brandy is clandestinely imported, for the latter is so much better spirit and will goe so much farther that the decrease of the former must be much greater in the proportion than the increase of the latter.

A second way to make some conjecture of the quantity of French brandy run upon us might be by the quantities that are seized. In my view I should be ready to conclude the seizures must have been at least as great as the quantities of brandy which have escaped the officers, for:

First, it ought to be observed that the cost of brandy clear on board from France is seldom £25 per ton which is not equal to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the customs and excise upon it England, the charge of the importation and getting it on shore, supposing it not to fall in the hands of the officers, cannot be well valued at more than £2 10s., so that the whole charge to the clandestine importer both at home and abroad will not exceed £27 10s. per ton.

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'of.'



2dly, five shillings per gallon is said to be a common price for French brandy on the coast of England and amounts to £63 per ton, if the clandestine importer can sell for £63 per ton when his cost for the whole is but £27 10s.—his nett profit would be £35 10s., a prodigious profit on so short a voyage.

3dly, if one half of the ton should fall into the hands of the king's officers and the clandestine importers, with only the other half yet at 5s. per gallon he would be able to sell the half for £31 10s., which is £4 more then his cost on the whole, and on £27 10s. amounts to between 14 and 15 per cent, a greater profit then I believe is made on most cases on so short a voyage by the fair traders, whereas those very often grow rich whilst the clandestine importers of brandy are all of them beggars.

4thly, if any considerable number of tons of French brandy should escape more than falls into the hands of the officers, it could not be but that many of the clandestine importers must have gained estates but have you ever heard of any estates of these people? They generally are as poor as they began.

From all these things laid together I conclude that the seizures of French brandy, if they could be known would exceed the quantities they escape.

Upon this I must to repeat my wonder that all seizures condemned are not returned to the inspector-general's office where the quantities of every one may be seen at once, especially since these are a value imported as much as any of our publick imports.

With some pains I have caused to be collected the brandys condemned in Michaelmas term, which they say are generally by reason of the long vacation that preceeds it equal to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole year. The quantity was 22,673 gall. so that the seizures of the whole year (supposing this true) must have been 68,019 or near 270 ton and, supposing the quantities that escaped, to be no more then was seized, the whole quantity clandestinely imported could not exceed 540 ton.

The cost paid by England to this quantity at £25 per ton as was said above was about £13,500—though the customs and excise which had been lost to the crown if none of it had been seized had amounted to above 3 times that summe.

And 540 tons of French brandy imported so as to be afforded for 5s. per gallon by reason of their superior value might obstruct the sale of 3 times that quantity of English spirits, and might probably deprive the landed interest of a sixth part of that new market for our malt.

But mischief to the landed interest, detriment to our manufactures and the loss of publick revenue are not the matter of our present enquiry. The only thing I am seeking after is the value paid by England to brandy clandestinely imported and if the brandy seized, with all that escapes, is but 540 tons the value paid to France for the quantity at £25 per ton can be no more than £13,500.

French wine is the next article of clandestine imports complained of. The quantity annually imported before the first French warr was near 20,000 tons; the prohibition that followed upon that war withheld us from the use of that wine, and the high dutys laid upon it during that warr keep us from a very great publick importa-



tion since the peace. Nevertheless I can see no reason to believe that the clandestine importation is anything like the above mentioned value of brandy, for :

1st, French wine before the first war was the common draught of every tavern, and not only persons of condition but the lower sort of people drank almost no other wine, and it is the latter makes the bulk of our consumption ; but the prohibition and high duties have turned our lesser gentry and common people at least to the use of Spannish and Portugal wines, which from almost nothing are become the common draught and almost as great an importation of that as French wine formerly ; and the latter is seldom to be found and is scarce ever pretended to be offered in any publick tavern. Such as remember the use of it formerly will tell that there is not one quart of it drank now for twenty as was then. There are not above 1000 tons now for 20,000 then, and we are supplied with more than 1000 tons annually for the court and superior gentry by a publick importation and that there seems no need of any that is clandestine.

2dly, the cost of French wine is much the same as that of brandy, but the English duty on the former not equal to  $\frac{2}{3}$  on those on the latter the temptation therefore to run French wine cannot be so great as that on brandy.

3dly, brandy might be divided into small casks for the better convenience of running it, but wine cannot without detriment to the commodity so that the latter in this respect cannot be as easily runn and to as much advantage as the former.

Whoever shall consider all these reasons together will as readily believe that neither so great a quantity of French wine nor so great a value is clandestinely imported as of brandy and therefore not £13,500 per annum.

The next article complained of is that of French and Dutch wrought silks. I cannot be denyed but a great value of these goods lye in a little room, and that therefore they are more fitting for a clandestine importation. It cannot be denyed also that abundance of people are extremely fond of every thing that is foreign and that, with our English ladies especially, nothing almost will goe down but French fashions and French manufactures, and that they are ready to throw aside everything that does not come to them under that name. Notwithstanding all this I am persuaded myself and hope to persuade others that the value of French and Dutch wrought silks clandestinely imported cannot exceed either of the aforesaid of French wine or French brandy.

1st, we are come to such perfection in the silk manufactures that it will very often require the skill of a very good workman to distinguish from what loom it came. The lady applies to her mercer for a French silk ; he is not so great a fool to deny her but show her an English pattern for a French and generally satisfies her with the name instead of the thing. He finds his own account in it, and instead of loosing his customer has the better prices for his goods. This is a frequent practice and generally successful upon such persons as are sure to dislike anything of their own country for no other reason then its being of their own country.

2dly, we have<sup>1</sup> raw silk from Turkey, thrown silk from Italy as cheap as France or Holland. The wages given here may be something higher then in those countries, and may possibly make their manufacture something cheaper then ours of equal goodness, but not enough to encourage any man to risque the loss of his goods by a clandestine importation, especially when it is so much easier without hazzard to impose our own as<sup>2</sup> foreign manufactures on<sup>3</sup> most customers, but

Lastly, we have greater publick importation of raw and thrown silk since the peace then perhaps was ever known in the like number of years, which seems to be a good argument that our own silk manufacture is encreased beyond whatever it was before and it is hardly to be accounted for, how our own manufactures should be encreased and the clandestine importation of the like manufacture at one and at the same time. The complaint therefore of the latter seems to be very much out of season.

For this reason I cannot value this article of clandestine imports as equal to either of the former, and consequently not at £13,500.

The remaining articles of goods clandestinely imported complained of *viz.* pepper, tea, coffee and muslins and chints are all East India goods except coffee, which is part imported from East India and partly from Turkey.

As clandestinely imported directly from East India or Turkey into England, and which therefore are not valued among the imports from those countries, I have nothing to doe to give their value here, it being done already, for if I have rightly given in Table 2 the total value paid annually by England not only to the publick but the clandestine imports from these nations, that is if that table gives the whole paid on all accounts, more cannot be paid upon any particular account whatsoever.

But the clandestine imports I am to value here are either such as are imported from European countries and not directly from East India or Turkey, or such as, haveing been shipped here for exportation to draw back the duties and valued on the side of our publick exports have been clandestinely relanded, in which case the value given to them on their pretended exportation ought to be replaced on their being relanded on the side of our imports.

Pepper is the first of these articles which are either clandestinely imported from European countries or clandestinely relanded here, after having been shipt of for exportation.

Before the last high duty on importation of pepper the quantity that remained in England for our annual consumption as appears by deducting the annual medium exported from the medium imported was above 150,000 lb. weight, this, at 12*d.* per lb. without the duties, was between £7 and 8000.

The exportation since is such as seems to carry of all that is imported and to leave none for our own consumption. Yet we seem to be in no want of pepper as appears to be annually used now as before, therefore the above mentioned quantity of 150,000 lbs. weight must be annually either clandestinely imported from our neighbours, or after haveing been shipt for exportation and valued

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'a.'

<sup>2</sup> MS. 'on.'

<sup>3</sup> MS. 'or.'

on the side of our exports must be clandestinely relanded, in which case there ought to be added or replaced on the side of our imports or goods bought by England the same value of between £7 and 8000.

Tea is the next article. Pepper may be divided into the smallest parcells for running, but tea cannot without detriment to the commodity, besides greater quantities of tea remain now for our annual consumption, as will appear by deducting the annual medium exported from the annual medium imported now, then did before the last great imposition and 'tis very unlikely that bothe the publick and clandestine importation of tea for our home consumption should increase together. I take it for-granted therefore that the clandestine importation or clandestine relanding of tea cannot be equal value of that of pepper nor of the value of £7 or 8000.

Coffee is the next article, the consumption of [which] I belive will be allowed to decrease as that of tea increases, so that if the coffee remaining for our own consumption of tea, and that the same quantity of coffee will not be pretended to be spent now whether by means of publick or clandestine importation as was before the last additional duty<sup>1</sup>; but not to insist upon this reasoning, if I should consent that as much coffee was consumed in England as was before, then the case would be this, whatsoever after deducting the medium of the exportations from the importations the remainder has exceeded the remainder since, must be allowed ether to be clandestinely imported or clandestinely relanded. I have deducted the exportation from the importation by the medium of 3 years imediately, the last great additionall duty and by the like medium since, and the quantity remaining by the duty and by the like medium since, and the quantity remaining by the latter medium falls short of the former near 900 lb. weight. If this therefore shall be insisted upon to be the annual quantity of coffee clandestinely imported or relanded, yet at £9 per cwt. without duties the value will not exceed £8100. But for the reason I have given *viz.* that our consumption of coffee decreases as that of tea increases the clandestine importation of coffee cannot amount to so great a value.

Callicoes are the next thing complained of. I was going to try the utmost value of this clandestine importation after the same manner I have done that of coffee, that is by deducting from the callicoes imported, the quantity exported both before the additional duty of 15 per cent at the sale, and by taking the quantitys remaining before this duty to be equal to our present annual consumption, in which case I should have made the summe in which the quantitys remaining before that duty had exceeded the quantity remaining since to be clandestinely imported or relanded.

But the mischief is that after deducting from the callicoes imported the quantitys exported the remainder is greater since then it was before the 15 per cent so that our own consumption has encreased

<sup>1</sup> The text here is very confused. I have omitted 'every' after 'belive' and also the words 'of coffee, will and that the same quantity' after 'quantity' where they appear to be due to dittography. Something has dropped out, the meaning of the passage being that the consumption of coffee has diminished since the last additional duty, as the consumption of tea has been substituted for it.

(even under this great increase of duties) by the Custom House books as will appear in the following instance.

<i>The Medium of Callicoes imported before the 15 per cent in 1697 and 1698 214,504 pieces</i>	<i>The Medium exported in those Years 107,604 pieces</i>	<i>The Medium remaining for Home Consumption in those Years 106,895 pieces</i>
<i>The Medium imported since that Duty in 1714 and 1715 965,009 pieces</i>	<i>The Medium exported in 1714 and 1715 636,300 pieces</i>	<i>The Medium remaining for Home Consumption 1714 and 1715 328,709 pieces</i>

By which it appears that the medium remaining for our own consumption by the Custom House accounts under the 15 per cent duty in the two last years is above thrice as much as the medium remaining in the two first years before the duty was laid. There is therefore no excess of the medium of the two first years by which to value the clandestine importation in the two last.

I believe I might very well therefore, as I have done before in the case of tea, deny that the clandestine importation of callicoes is considerable enough to deserve our notice, when 'tis plain the publick open and visible importation for our own consumption has so vastly increased since even under the duty of 15 per cent.

But because few people are apt to be satisfied with general assertions I will begg leave to discourse a little longer upon this pretended clandestine importation.

The branch of callicoes chiefly pretended to be clandestinely imported or reloaded is that which is called muslins the consumption of which is visibly decreased in England since the year 1698.

In 1697 and 1698 almost every lady was all the morning in musling nightrail but before the years 1714 and 15 nightrails were entirely disused. In the two former years the ladies not only received but made their visits in muslin aprons, but long before the<sup>1</sup> two latter, short silk aprons were become almost the whole fashion both at home and abroad. No lady is now ever seen in a muslin apron but in her undress.

In [the] two former years the ruffles both of gentlemen and ladys were of muslin instead of which the gentlemen wear cambrick and the ladies fine lawn.

About the two former years gentlemen generally wore large neckcloths of muslin (I think they were called 'steenkirks') which went twice about their necks and were twisted almost to their middles but at least every one wore whole neckcloth's which after coming twice about the neck were tyed in a knot under the chin and no doubt they were worn out the sooner on this account, and [went] by so much the oftner to the washerwoman. The fashion of latter years is turn-overs instead of neckcloths and of almost any piece of old muslin. They wear clean a great deal longer, so that it is hard to conceive our present consumption of muslin in neckcloths can amount to  $\frac{1}{5}$  of what it was formerly.

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'they took.'

I think I have enumerated all the uses for muslins and considering the total disuse of nightgowns the great abatement of that manufacture in aprons, ruffles and neckcloths, I persuade myself not a tenth part of the muslins were consumed in England now that were before the 15 per cent duty's.

Our consumptions of white calicoes of all sorts by the medium of the years 1697 and 8 amounted to, as is seen before, 106,895 pieces. If these should be allowed to be all muslins and it also should be allowed that not a tenth part of that quantity is used now, the whole present annual consumption would not exceed 10,689½ pieces the value of which at 20s. per piece at importation or relanding would not exceed £10,689 10s. without duties.

But shall it be supposed now that this whole quantity is clandestinely imported or relanded into England? It happens very luckily that the buyers at the East India sale are generally persons of character and fortune that are above adding a little to their estates by fraud and perjury, which they must be guilty of by clandestinely importing or relanding these goods, for our whole consumptions of muslins if it does not exceed 10,689½ pieces though it should be supposed to be clandestine would add but very little to the estates of so great a number of people.

I conclude therefore that our whole annual clandestine importation of muslin is far short of 10,689½ pieces, far short of the value of £10,689 10s., and for my own part I do not believe it amounts to half that summe.

But first, if our annual consumption of that branch of white calicoes which are called muslins are so much decreased, how comes our whole consumption of calicoes to be so vastly increased, as appears by comparing the medium remaining in England in the two first years with that of the two last more then treble the former summe?

2dly, and if our fair consumption of calicoes is so vastly encreased even under the 15 per cent duty at the sale, why may it not be supposed that great numbers also have been clandestinely imported or relanded to save a draw back and all other duties? to these questions I answer:

To the first that though the consumption of muslins is very much decreased, yet by means of the prohibitions of chints and many other East India manufactures and all the high duties on all foreign silks which are next to prohibitions and to supply the wants of these prohibited manufactures, greater quantities of white calicoes are imported to be stained or flowred in England which is now become so common a dress that scarce a chambermaid is without a calicoe gown. This will account how the increase of calicoes in general comes to be consistent with the decrease of that branch of them which are called muslins.

To the second question I answer that 15 per cent on white calicoes at the sale is far short of 15 per cent of the value after it is stained in England. The white calicoe that comes from the Indies is not fit for the consumption till it is printed or stained here, which makes a great addition to its value, so that the calicoe is but one part, the printing or staining the other part of the manufacture, and the 15 per

cent on only a part can by no means amount to 15 per cent on the whole ; and as the fair consumption of English painted calicoes has encreased under this duty, the saving it does not seem temptation sufficient to any man to risque the loss of his goods and other forfeitures by a clandestine importation of white calicoes. Besides I think the whole complaint of muslins, and not of calicoes that are imported white in order to be stained in England.

However I could wish as well with respect to this sort of goods as all others that as seizures were returned to the inspector-general's office, I might then perhaps be better able to judge of this matter, but as it is I see no reason to believe that the clandestine importation of calicoes and muslins can amount to a thousand, much less to hundred thousands of pieces or to the value of £10,000 per annum.

I cannot dismiss this subject of calicoes without taking notice of the vast exportation by the medium of year 1714 and 1715 which was 636,300 pieces. Let those be valued as low as they are per the inspector-general's, at about 12s. per piece, will be £381,780 equal to almost the whole value of goods and foreign coin exported to the East Indies in those years ; whence it will follow that those exported calicoes repaid us in money from other countries near as much as the value we paid in those years to the East Indies, not only for those exported calicoes but also for all that we used at home and for all our imports from these countries, whether consumed here or re-exported, as might be seen by looking over the inspector's value of East India imports in those years. But I believe our re-exported calicoes ought to be valued a great deal higher than 12s. per piece and then the value repaid per 636,300 pieces exported would amount to much more than £381,780.

And I persuade myself, if our East India trade was to be considered in this view only and without regard to the detriment our manufactures may suffer from it, it would be found to have been the cause of making the ballance of our whole trade more advantageous to us and importing more bullion into England then our trade with any country in the world, Holland excepted.

But to leave this digression and return to the present argument, I have given sufficient reasons to show that the clandestine value of muslins or calicoes which are taxt at 15 per cent cannot exceed £10,000 or rather that it falls short of that summe.

There remains no other clandestine value of East India goods complained of except chints or calicoes stained in that country, which are prohibited to be worn here because, as it must be presumed, that they can be afforded cheaper then any English manufactures of the like use and convenience.

Such of these chints as are sold by stealth in England are generally sold for £7 or £8 per piece, and this because of the great hazzard in their clandestine trade, but such as are sold for exportation will hardly reach £4 at a medium.

Very few except persons of condition are seen in these chints and they are often washt and often new made up, but not very often used, so that the same chint gown shall continue in being for severall years together.

I have heard a gentleman, who perhaps may have sold as many

chints as any one in England for exportation, deny that a thousand are annually sold for English consumption, I will however believe that he was mistaken and that 2000 chints may be annually sold in England. Such a quantity by good huswifry and not frequent use in 7 years time may make 14,00[0] chints in at once, enough for all the ladies that are dressed in this manufacture.

But now the question is what is England to be charged with to these 2000 chints sold annually by stealth to our people? They may be purchased in Holland for about £4 per chint to be clandestinely imported, or they may be valued outwards from England at the same price, though they should be afterwards reloaded: whatsoever is the case for 2000 chints at £4 per piece England may be charged with £8000. But I believe I have made the quantity and consequently the charge greater than was necessary but I endeavour as much as I can to undervalue any charge paid by England.

I have now gone through all the articles of clandestine imports chiefly complained of. I will not pretend to say I have given the exact value of them but I persuade myself I have determined such a value on every article which for the reasons I have given, it will not be thought to exceed and if any man will be at the pains to look back at the foot of my observations on every distinct article, he will see that all of them joyned together will fall short of £100,000 in value.

But least it should be said that besides the above mentioned goods there may be other clandestine imports which are not particularly complained of, I might content myself to answer that if their value were considerable we should not want complaints, or I might answer thus, that there is not the like temptation to a clandestine importation of any goods, and therefore that the value of the latter can by no means be as considerable as the former.

Yet that I<sup>1</sup> may not be thought to undervalue the clandestine imports bought by England of any kind, whether complained of or not complained of, I shall offer such a value as I conceive all of them joined together will not be thought to exceed and therefore, since most of our clandestine imports are believed to come from France or Holland, I am content to allow them equal in value to a third part of the fair imports from those countries though at the same time I think our officers must be all asleep to let so great a value slip by them.

Table 13 therefore having given the inspector's annual value of imports from France and Holland gives the 3d part of that value as equal to all our clandestine imports not paid for by any of the preceeding tables.

#### *Observations on Table 14*

This table needs no explanation of what is done here. I have given repetition in it.

1st the total value paid to East India and Turkey per Table 2.  
2dly the value paid per Table 5 to the plantations therein enumerated.

3dly the value paid per Africa and Madera per Table 7.

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'it.'



4thly the value of imports purchased per England from all countrys per Table 10.

5thly the utmost value that can be pretended to be paid by England for foreign goods lost or taken in their way hither and for foreign ships sold here as in Table 11.

6thly the utmost value in freight that can be pretended to be paid by England to foreign ships per Table 12.

7thly the utmost value that can be pretended to be paid per England to all clandestine imports per Table 13.

8thly and lastly the amount of all these values added together as the total value of goods purchased by England from foreign countries or the total value paid by England to all foreign countries for all foreign goods whatsoever.

And to come at this total value of goods bought or paid for by England, I have been as careful as I can not to flatter ourselves or to undervalue the cost paid by England to any sort of foreign goods whatsoever.

What man can pretend to say that any greater value has been paid by England, to the several countries named in Table 2, 5 and 7 for goods whether publickly or clandestinely imported, whether safely arrived here or lost or taken in their way, than I have made to be paid to all those countries taken together by the said Tables? I believe I have in observing on those Tables shown the whole that has been paid by England to those countries and that whole I have applied to the purchase of goods in those countries. Again to come at the value of imports purchased by England from all the other countries which are enumerated in Table 8, could I deduct less from the inspector's total value of imports from those countries then 10 per cent for overvaluations, when I have shewn in my observations on that Table that a great deal might be deducted on this account?

Again have I not made it sufficiently appear in Table 9 that all our foreign gains are equal to above 20 per cent of our exports to the last mentioned countries? and could I deduct out of the last mentioned imports for value purchased by foreign gains and not per England, less than 20 per cent of our said exports? And if I might have justly made larger deductions then I have done both for overvaluations and value purchased by foreign gains, it is certain the less of the inspector's had remained to be purchased at the cost of England from the last mentioned countryes. In Table 10 that I have made it even greater then I have been able to have done.

Again I have made England pay a summe equal to 10 per cent of the last mentioned value of imports to goods bought by England and lost or taken in their way to it, and to ships plantation built and sold here, and have I not allowed enough for those purchases when in observation on Table 11 I have shown they could not amount to so great a value?

It will be hard for any man to make us pay for a greater value of freight to foreign shipping then I have done, after the reasons I have given in Table 12 to prove that it cannot amount to so much; to which I will only add that our exports, which vastly exceed our imports in value, are for the most part carried out in our own ships



and 'twill hardly be believed they return empty or with only ballast in their holds. It's rather true that 20 tons of ballast is exported for every one that is imported. Our own shipping therefore is sufficient for almost all our importations, and the freight paid for our shipping is not paid to foreign nations.

Lastly, I think I shall not be accused of under valuing the clandestine imports bought by England, Table 13, since in my observations on that Table I have not been able to raise them to the value I have allowed to them, or rather I have given reasons that they cannot exceed, half that value.

These I think are all the foreign goods that are bought by England and altogether will not rise to the value I have allowed for them, or to the value I have allowed at the foot of the Table 14, or rather they must fall very short of it, so that I am by no means guilty of undervaluing our payments to our foreign purchasers.

#### *The Conclusion or Observations on Table 15*

This table after having given the value of our exports of goods sold to foreign countryes as it stands in Table 1, deduct[s] from it the whole value paid by England to all sorts of foreign goods whether publicly or clandestinely imported, whether entered at the Custom House or lost or taken in their passage to England, and also by freight paid to foreign shipping as it stands at the foot of Table 14, then gives a remainder as the ballance due or coming to us on our whole trade.

And a prodigious ballance it is, and such a one as I should not believe my self if I had not deducted from premises which in my own opinion are certain and undeniable.

Besides without such a ballance coming to England every year as I have shown in Table 15 I should not be able to account for many things which I believe cannot well be accounted for otherwise.

First I should not be able to account how with some part of such a ballance, we could have paid our charges abroad to our French and Spannish wars, which lasted 10 years of the time in the preceeding account. We maintained great forces of our own in Spain and Flanders during these wars; we also entertained the troops of many foreign princes in our own service; and the subsistence paid by England to these armies abroad with the subsidys to the said princes perhaps amount to £14 or 1,500,000 per annum.

And how were these payments made? I think it is plain that little or no foreign coin was exported out of England on this account for:

1st, there was little or no publick exportation of foreign coin to any countryes for the above mentioned subsidys and subsistence; and I conclude, as I have often done, that none was clandestinely exported because of the forfeiture if it should be discovered and because every man that will may export publicly and without duties.

2dly, the exportation of £14 or 1,500,000 value of foreign coin every year for 13 years together could not but have been sensibly felt, whereas on the contrary the increase of the use of foreign coin in England at that time was visible and it was become almost as

current as English money in many parts of the kingdom and vast quantity's of foreign gold coin was also received at the tower, so that much more must have been imported than exported not withstanding our foreign payments to the charge of that war.

3dly, the exportation of foreign coin to make payments in foreign countries is never considerable when those payments can be cheaper made by bills of exchange, which is always the case in Holland and other European countries when the exchange is in our favour, which is always when we have greater summes to receive then we have to pay. When it happens otherwise, then the exportation begins, for our debts abroad must be paid let the manner of doing it be never so chargeable. During the late French and Spannish war the course of exchange with the Dutch (who are the general exchangers for all Europe) was always in our favour and it was generally so with all the European countries from whence any payments could be made to our armies abroad, so that during that war there was very little exportation of foreign coin or little or no need of any on that account.

For all these reasons I conclude that our payments of the said £1,400,000 or £1,500,000 per annum were made in the country's where our troops were subsisted and where our subsidies were due with little or no exportation of foreign coin or bullion on that account.

Again I belive it will not be pretended that all those payments could be made of that war abroad by summes borrowed per England or by the English Government in foreign countries and it is the same thing as money borrowed if foreigners had ordered their correspondents here to subscribe to our lotteries, annuities or other publick funds, or purchase under the first subscribers and to draw upon them bills of exchange to make the like payments to the charges of that warr or on any other account whatsoever, for England has only a right to the present use of the borrowed sums, the repayment of which is secured with interest by acts of parliament to the creditors and their assignes.

But now if the summes borrowed in foreign countries as aforesaid had been sufficient to answer all our payments abroad on account of that war and to make it unnecessary to export any bullion for that purpose, it may be very well affirmed that all those payments were made by debts contracted in foreign countries, but this I think cannot be pretended.

The publick debts secured by act of parliament, I have heard amount to 50 millions and these not all contracted during the last war but a very great part of them in a war before that continued almost as long.

And the utmost interest as ever I have heard pretended belonging to foreigners was about  $\frac{1}{5}$  part of the whole which would not amount to above 10 millions borrowed in foreign nations and these too not all in the last war.

How then is it possible that less than ten millions borrowed in foreign countries should be sufficient to answer all our foreign payments of £14 or 1,500,000 per annum to the last war, which in the space of ten years were 14 or 15 millions? There must have

remained 4 or 5 millions or £4 or 500,000 per annum of those foreign payments which could not have been made by money borrowed in other countries.

And if these payments of £4 or 5000 per annum to the subsistence of our armies abroad and to the subsidys of foreign princes neither were nor could be made by bullion exported nor by summes borrowed in foreign countries, it remains that they were made by the ballance due to England on her trade ; that is the remitters for the Government paid so much of the publick money here to the creditors in that ballance and took their bills of exchange on their foreign debtors for the payment of £4 or 500,000 per annum to our foreign charges of the last war. This I suppose as the least by our ballance of trade to our foreign charges of the last war but I rather believe it to have been double.

This then is the first thing to be accounted for, how £4 or 500,000 per annum of our foreign charges to the last war could be satisfied any other way than by ballance due to us on our trade.

This however will not prove the ballance to have exceeded that summe.

2dly, it appears by Tables 2, 5 and 7 that our exportation of foreign coin to the East Indies, Turkey, our plantations, Africa and Madera (indeed almost all of it to the East Indies as it is seen in the coin account) amounted at a medium to such another summe as £4 or 500,000 per annum and, though it is shewn before that the East India trade is the cause of bringing in more coin or bullion from other countries than it carries out to the East Indies, yet it could not have been exported from the latter had it not been imported from the former, and how this £4 or 500,000 per annum could have been exported to the East Indies it will be impossible to account for unless it had been first imported by the ballance of our trade with other countries.

3dly, I am informed that [at] almost every trial of the pix there has appeared between that and the former tryal a coynage of £14 or 1,500,000 value of foreign gold or bullion ; and, as I think, even the years of the last war not excepted, but the officers of the mint are able to show the truth of this matter in half an hour. Yet this is certain, when it is once more converted into English coin it cannot be publicly exported, and as for any clandestine exportation I have often showed there can be none because of the hazzard and forfeiture as attends it and because every man may export as much foreign coin as he thinks fitt without charge or hazzard. Now so great a value of foreign coin or bullion could not have been carried to the mint if it had not been brought to England by the ballance of our whole trade.

4thly, besides the coinage in our mint vast quantitys of foreign gold coin are current in the kingdom and especially in the west of England where they are given and taken in all great payments almost as much and to as great value of English money.

I believe if all the importations of foreign coin or bullion together with our foreign payments to the late war could be adjusted, they would be found to [amount to] much more than the 3 millions per annum and all of them (except the value re-exported to the East

Indies and other countries mentioned in Tables 2, 5 and 7 which appears there to be about £4 or 500,000 per annum at a medium) gained to England by a clear ballance of our whole trade and it will be a very hard matter to account for this clear gain if the whole ballance coming to us by our whole trade should not be allowed as great as I have made it.

There are many other matters which may be said to give their concurrent evidence to the ballance asserted in Table 15 such as :

1st, the vast sums paid abroad to our foreign wars since the revolution, 24 or 25 millions at least, not including 4 or 5 millions for which we may now stand indebted to foreign nations in our funds.

2dly, the vast summes debit to the Government within the least 25 or 26 years by Englishmen on the credit of acts of parliament, at least the value of 44 or 45 millions.

3dly, the prodigious rise of the debts at the sale of them beyond the value lent, not much less than 20 per cent beyond the parr advanced to the publick.

4thly, the great increase of the stock employed in trade both foreign and domestick.

And lastly, the universal increase of the annual expences of our people.

I shall consider every one of these by itself and then bring them altogether to bear their suffrage to the aforesaid ballance, but I must ask this general question, whence came all this value ?

I answer it must have come chiefly if not altogether from the ballance of our foreign trade.

I shall be best able to show this when I have made a short comparison between our riches, taxes and excises, together with the annual expences and savings since the revolution and those in the reign of Charles the Second, which some will have to be the time of England's greatest riches and prosperity.

In the reign of King Charles the second we had peace with all our neighbours ; not taxes at all on lands ; a small excise on beer, but none on malt, hops or cyder ; a small duty on coals for building Saint Pauls and other churches ; the old subsidy on the woollen manufactures which was not above 2 per cent of their real value, and this only on the exportation and therefore paid by the consumption of foreign nations ; but no such thing as excise on soap, salt, candles, leather or any other English goods consumed by our own people.

This was the case of English goods ; but then as to foreign goods, French wine paid but an inconsiderable duty, not much above the 4th part of the duties that are paid now by the wines that are most favoured, so that the former was retailed in England for less than half the price for which the wines of any country can be now imported ; and for the duties of most other foreign goods and manufactures they were generally speaking the old subsidys only, that is the little inconsiderable duties laid upon them in the 12 of Charles the 2d which was the first year of his actual reign.

A blessed time no doubt [this] was when every man enjoyed his whole income to himself, whether of rents, wages or trade, when

nothing of his income was taken from him by taxes, when he was at liberty to buy all sorts of goods, foreign as well as English almost as cheap as he could desire, when the duties were either none at all or such as did not in the least restrain his consumption of anything ! A blessed time this no doubt, and such as could not choose but make every individual man happy, not to be restrained from the use of anything that pleased him, whether of the growth of his own or any other country whatsoever.

But now what advantage was made of that universal liberty ? Every man, the trader as well as the gentleman, generally speaking made his expences and his income even at the year's end. The savings then were inconsiderable. The few that saved were little more than sufficient to purchase the estates of those that by their expences necessitated themselves to sell. The savings were barely sufficient to keep up the price of lands to about 20 years purchase when they could be layed out on nothing else, so small was the number and emulation of purchasers in that reign.

Parsimony was not the virtue of that age. Indeed, it could not be expected men would contract their expences under no example from the court, under no sumptuary laws, under no taxes on their annual incomes and next to none on their annual consumption, and when there was an universal licence for every one to make use of foreign as well as English manufactures ; therefore all the savings of some of our people were no more than sufficient to ballance the extraordinary expenses of others.

But can it be said then that the income of our whole people encreased beyond their annual expences ? Were the rents greater then they are now ? Or was the income or labour and gains greater of our people ? If this had been the case, there must have been great numbers in England to pay rent for our houses and greater numbers of customers either here or in foreign countries for the product of our lands and the manufacture of our people.

First as to numbers of people, England could not abound in numbers when conformity to the church established was strictly pressed, when the greatest severities against all dissenters from it except papists drove great numbers of people into our provinces in America and into other foreign countries to seek for that liberty of conscience which they were not suffered to enjoy at home.

I do not pretend here to argue against any other advantages of an exact uniformity of all people with the establisht church ; but this I may safely affirm, if any severitys were made use of to attain this uniformity which lessened the numbers of our people, England could not [have] either the more tennants for her houses or the more customers at home for the product of her lands ; the rents could not increase by these severitys.

But, supposing the numbers still left in England notwithstanding the severitys to have been as great as ever, they could not have been better customers to the product of our lands and the manufactures of our people, for the universal indulgence of every one of using what foreign goods he pleased under the easy duties of King Charles II.

Will any man believe that our woollen manufactures had been

the better market in England for the great quantities of East India coloured calicoes worn by our people?

That great quantities of our malt were sold in England when there was an annual importation under the easy duties in that reign of near 20,000 ton of French wine, the cost of which in that countrey could not be much less than £300,000 per annum.

That any great number of our people were employed and subsisted by a linnen manufacture when all our common people wore dowlas and this and other French linnen the value of 6 or 7 hundred thousand pounds per annum. Indeed during all this time no such thing as a linnen manufacture was attempted in England.

Again we purchased annually from France 150 or 200,000 wt. of wrot silk to the value of 3 or 400,000 per annum some also from the East Indies and other countries, and then could there be any other market at home for our own silk manufacture? Indeed our looms stood quite still in the meantime (I am informed, for the inspector's office does not goe so far back) that Canterbury, Norwich and Spittle Fields, now so very flourishing, were mere desarts.

The same thing may be said of brandy. About 500 tons they say were yearly imported in that reign from France. If there was such an importation the cost must have amounted to £100,000 per annum; but whoever heard of English spirits especially from malt at that time? Such a manufacture was not consistent with a free allowance of French brandy.

Lastly the case is also the same of white paper with which we were almost served wholly from France to the value of almost £70 or 80,000 per annum, and therefore no such thing as manufacture was attempted in the reign of Charles the Second.

I believe I have enumerated as many instances of foreign goods sold in England in that reign as were sufficient to obstruct the sale or the birth of as many manufactures here as would have amounted to £1,500,000 or £2,000,000 per annum, and will it then be imagined that we had the better market at home for the product of our lands or the manufactures of our people by the easier duties of that reign? or that the expence of so great a summe on our foreign enabled us to pay so much more to our English goods? The very supposition [is] impossible.

Therefore in the reign of King Charles II there was no increase of our people, no increase of our domestick market for our native produce and manufactures; the severitys in religious matters hindered the former, and the great libertys allowed to all sorts of foreign goods prevented the latter; and if England had neither more tennants for her houses nor customers for her goods, neither the rents nor any other part of the whole income of the people could increase by our home customers; but

2dly, we had not in that reign greater markets for our goods in foreign countries.

One might at least have expected since so great an indulgence was given for foreign goods in England our own might have had the same favour in foreign countries or that these would have purchased from them as great a value of goods as they annually sold us.

But quite contrary we then consumed, and consequently purchased, French manufactures of the value of £14 or 1,500,000 per annum and sold to France not a third part of the value of that goods of all sorts whatsoever ; so that above a million was annually paid upon the ballance of our trade with that nation. We exported very few goods to the East Indies. The chief of our exports was silver which ought to be accounted as a ballance paid to those countries. At the same time, as well as ever since, we paid a considerable annual ballance to our sugar and tobaccoe plantations, to Denmark and Sweeden, Russia and the East Country, and from what country then were we repaid these several ballances ? As long as France was the most favoured nation in trade we dealt not so considerably with Flanders, Holland, Germany or Portugal ; at least very little was coming to us on the ballance of our trade with the latter, and I persuade myself if a view was taken of all other countries, the summe in which our exports to the latter exceeded our imports from the same was not sufficient to reimburse us a tenth part of the ballances paid on the before mentioned trades. I very much doubt whether the whole value of all our exports joined together with all our foreign gains by freight, fisheries and other ways had been sufficient to pay for all the manufactures and other goods we annually imported from all the countries in the world.

If they were not, it is plain we gained no marketts abroad for those we lost at home for the product of our lands and the manufactures of our people, from which two fountains are derived the rents and incomes of the whole nation.

But that I may not be thought to affirm anything at random I can produce an Act of parliament in the reign of King Charles II declaring our trade with a certain nation exhausted our treasure and interfered with our native product and manufactures.<sup>1</sup> But I shall offer an argument I think impossible to be answered with respect to our foreign markets. In that reign our woolen manufactures exported, which are generally near half the value of our whole exports, paid the old subsidy which was taken of in 1700. This duty in the last of King Charles amounted to £30,000, in 1699 to above £60,000 as I have heard ; whence it is plain that the exportation in the former year was more then doubled in the latter though the duty was not then taken off.

The reasons now why the savings of some people were sufficient only to ballance the extraordinary expences of others to keep up our lands to their old annual value is very obvious. It was the unrestrained liberty in that reign of everyone to consume foreign as well as English manufactures which prevented any ballance coming to England. The ballance coming to us by our trade is an income from the consumption of foreign nations to the whole kingdom, and not a saving of some by means of expences of others of our own people. The former enriches a nation the latter leaves it just as it was.

It is time now to take a view of our condition since the revolution, which was heaving<sup>2</sup> the taxes on our lands every year ; but during

<sup>1</sup> 29 & 30 Car. II, c. 1, the Act of 1678 for prohibiting French imports.

<sup>2</sup> The text is perhaps here at fault.



the two French wars it continued two thirds of the time  $4s.$  in the pound. This reduced the owners, such as were fairly rated, to  $\frac{4}{5}$  of their former revenue. The excise on beer doubled, and great excises besides on malt hops and cyder as also on candles, soap, salt, leather with many other English goods consumed by our own people.

And as to foreign goods, the very customs of Portugal wines, which are most favoured, almost quadruple to those on the most favoured wines in the reign of King Charles; and as to most other foreign goods we are got to  $2d.$  and  $3d.$  subsidys and many other additional duties. Even our woollen manufactures consumed at home have not escaped by reason of some duties that have been laid on several ingredients, which perhaps may amount to near one per cent on our own consumption of all those manufactures. At the same time we have been kinder to foreign nations by taking off the old subsidy from the exportation of woollen goods which perhaps was 2 per cent of the real value exported; but as for brandy the customs and excise of it run so very high that almost none is fairly imported.

The thing aggravated here is that revenues left to the land owners are very much diminished and the charges of every one's subsistence increased: this is the dark side this account.

Yet, notwithstanding this, £14 or 15,000,000 has been annually paid abroad by the government during our two French wars to the subsistence of armies in foreign countries and to foreign princes for subsidys (this will amount to near 30 millions) and all this without exhausting our whole treasures.

So far from it that even Englishmen have advanced and lent to the government since the revolution above 40 millions on the credit of severall acts of parliament, and are even now creditors to the publick in that summe, and probably in 4 or 5 million more, if our foreign creditors have taken advantage of our publick funds and sold out the last mentioned value.

In the mean time all the debts secured by the aforesaid funds are advanced some of them near 20 per cent above the parr of the summes originally lent to the publick not excepting those very debts which may be paid of with the very summes that were first lent, and to this after a reduction of one per cent of the annual interest, and even still during <sup>1</sup> a still farther reduction, it is hard to conceive there can be less then a million without interest attending on every 20 millions secured as aforesaid ready to purchase under so great disadvantages if there were not purchasers more than sellers of that value they would hardly be able to keep the publick debts so much above their real value. This very thing is sufficient to account for an increase of more than 2 millions in the kingdom to keep a debt of 50 millions so much above the parr of the debt.

But are the lands reduced by these loans below the value they bore in the reign of Charles II? They paid no taxes for many years before the decease of that prince, yet the fee simple was rarely sold for no more than 20 years' purchase. They are not freed from their taxes yet and there is no great prospect of their being freed for some years to come, and yet they are sold every day for 4 or 5 years'

<sup>1</sup> MS. here has 'of.'

purchase more than they were in that reign. This I am humbly of opinion will hardly be accounted for, if there is not in the nation, ready to be laid out on lands, a million more without interest to every 20 millions value of lands then there was in the reign of King Charles II; and this, supposing the whole rent in England to be 10 millions per annum or 200 millions the fee simple, will require that the summe without interest all over England attending the purchases of rents should be 10 millions more then it was then.

But this is not the whole improvement of the landed interest. Let a man survey the new buildings within the bills of mortality since the Revolution where there were none before, and perhaps he will be convinced that they amount to one 5th part of the whole. Let him but view the many stately new streets, the many magnificent squares I persuade myself he will allow them to exceed 5 or 6 of the greatest citys in England, London only excepted; but if they should amount to no more than 10,000 new houses and every house with the furniture to £1000, yet even these buildings and their furniture would require a stock of 10 millions more then was in the nation in the reign of Charles II; and what occasion of so many new houses if there was not an increase of our people, and what can this be owing to but the increase of our trade and the regulation of it since the Revolution? Not to say anything of the liberty of conscience which has been allowed from that time and the great improvements in other parts of the kingdom.

I proceed next to the increase of our trade both foreign and domestick. Our exports are 2 or 3 millions more now then they were in the reign of King Charles II. A remarkable instance is given of this before with respect to our woollen manufactures, the exportation of which was above double in 1699 to that of the last year of that prince. Our exportation of sugar, tobacco, East India goods and many other things both English and foreign is prodigiously encreased since that time, so that I cannot rate the increase of our whole exports at less than 2 or 3 millions per annum.

And as for our domestick trade, we have retrieved some old manufactures that were just expiring, particularly that of silk, which we make annually [to] a greater value than we before imported. We have erected others entirely new to England, such as linnen, spirits, white paper and the like. By what we have and by what we have new begun we save ourselves the payment of above a million yearly to foreign nations for the consumption of our people.

I doe not see how I can value the increase of our stocks both in our foreign and domestick trade at less then 3 or 4 millions.

To all this I ought to add the vast increase of luxury in the nation which must suppose a greater income to support it.

Near as much wine drank now as formerly at double the price to the consumer by reason of the high duties, though not so much to the kingdom because purchased in the countries which are contented to take our manufactures in exchange, which we could not before get off in those countries.

The linnen we now use is as dear or dearer to the consumer, whether made by ourselves or purchased from Germany under the present high duties, as when we were supplied by France; but

with this difference, that we paid in bullion for what we bought in France, for what is made by our own people we pay nothing to any foreign country, and for what is bought in Germany we pay with our manufactures.

Our own wrought silks are dearer to the English consumer than those we bought in France, but not so great an expence to the nation. The latter the nation paid for with the bullion ; of the former we purchase the materials with our manufactures and the labour is our own.

Without doubt the cambricks and lawns we buy from Flanders are dearer to the consumer than the muslins were from the East Indies ; but for these we paid foreign coin, the former are purchased with our manufactures.

French brandy as will goe much farther than our own spirits was much cheaper to the consumer ; but the former was purchased with our money, the latter is our own manufacture.

Now let any man but add the luxury of coaches, equipages, furniture and abundance of other expences under the severe duties which have been imposed since the revolution as so many sumptuary laws, and he will be convinced that the very encrease of the expences of every one must amount to a great annual sum ; and can there be this increase of our expences without an increase of riches ?

But to lay no great stress upon this last article of our luxury I have enumerated as many others as add more then a hundred millions to the value of the nation beyond what it was in the reign of King Charles II, not reckoning into either the increase of the value of publick stocks beyond the par of national debts, or of the value of lands beyond what they might have been bought for since the Revolution.

Doubtless we are greatly beholden to the laws and duties since the Revolution, not for lessening the expences of our whole people, but for disabling them to increase their expences equally with their riches, and particularly for restraining as much as possible such foreign consumption as exhausted the treasures of the kingdom and obstructing our trading with those who have since paid us a very great annual ballance.

But now the question is whence came this additional value of an hundred millions and upwards to the capital stock of the nation ? I will take leave to answer :

1st, it is not likely that a great deal, if any of it, could come to the landed interest, though that receives a very great share of the benefit by the prodigious rise of the value of the lands ; and I verily believe if the summe 10 or 15 millions of the publick debts should come to be paid of and to be distressed for want of interest, as the publick securitys should decrease, the value of lands would rise as high in England as in any country in Europe. Yet at present I think the gentlemen have contributed very little to increase the value of their own estates.

Before the Revolution they generally made their rents and their expences even ; all the savings any of 'em made, with all that were made by the whole trading interest, were but just sufficient to ballance the extraordinary expences of such as had run out their

estates, and to keep up the value of lands to 20 years purchase or thereabouts.

And can it be thought they have been able to do more since the revolution when the taxes of their lands have excised so much from their annual rents, when the high duties on so many conveniences of life have rendered their subsistence so much dearer, when their means are lessened and the charges of their subsistence increased?

It's rather to be feared that more gentlemen by not abating their former manner of living, have spent their estates, than suspected that more have saved to purchase, or even to contribute the share they did before towards keeping up the former value of lands.

I don't know whether the industry of their tenants by foreign grass, turnips, and, otherwise may not have made improvements upon gentlemen's estates equal to all the taxes they have paid; and whether they may not by such means have been enabled to keep greater flocks of sheep which may perhaps account in some measure for greater exportations of our woollen manufactures since the Revolution then were ever known before; and if gentlemen have taken advantage of this and raised the rents of their tenants, yet this is all the advantage they have made.

For still their annual expences remain increased by all the high duties on their consumption of English but especially on foreign goods. They generally spent as much and as fast as their rents will give them leave; saving does not seem to be their talent, and I question very much whether the whole landed interest hath saved enough since the Revolution besides what serves to keep up the old value of lands to contribute 100th part of the aforesaid addition to the capital stock of the kingdom.

2dly, such as manufacture or import for the consumption of our own people with the several tradesmen, shop-keepers and retailers that sell for them are generally more parsimonious than the gentlemen; but yet they were able to do no more in the reign of King Charles II, by their superlucration over and above all their own expences, then to contribute their share with other saving people to buy the estates of such gentlemen as had run out of them by their extravagancies and to keep up lands to their old value.

Neither are they very able to do more now. It is not very likely they can sell more to the consumption of our own people now under the late increase of duties than they did when our own product and manufactures paid no excises and foreign goods but very small customs. The new duties if they have not very much lessened our home consumption have undoubtedly prevented its increase. They cannot sell more goods therefore to our own consumption; nor is it likely they can sell the same goods for more profit; indeed they sell at higher prices by the whole new duties, but those duties they have paid themselves, so this increase of their prices when they sell is no increase of their profit; and, if the people that manufacture or import or sell for the consumption of England can sell no more on this account nor for more profit than they did in the reign of Charles II, their income by

our domestick trade can be no greater now then they were then, neither can their savings be greater. On the contrary, one would think they should be less, since the annual expences of every trader to the consumption of England are very much encreased by the several new duties on his own consumption.

Upon the whole matter, the traders to our home consumption only have no greater incomes by this trade now then before the revolution; they are obliged to live at greater expences since by the several new duties and excises; therefore with all their parsimony (which, God knows, is not very great in the present age among any sort of people) their savings now can be no greater then they were before the Revolution.

Their savings were no more then served to purchase some of the estates that extravagant persons had necessitated themselves to sell, and to contribute their part to the keeping up lands to their old value, therefore nothing of the above-mentioned vast increase of riches hath come from these people.

To this I will add that the consumption of England cannot add one single shilling to the riches of the nation, therefore all the product of our lands, all the manufactures of our people, all sorts of goods whether foreign or domestick which are sold to our home consumption, add nothing to our riches by selling to this consumption. One man may raise himself a very great estate, but it is out of another man expences; still the riches of the kingdom are not increased, there is not one shilling more in the whole nation. It is just <sup>1</sup> the same as if 4 or 5 men were to come into a room every one with his hundred pound and fall to gaming till the whole comes into one hand; there would not be a single shilling more in the room. Therefore without being at the least pains to show that the traders to our consumption save no more now than they did formerly, I might have affirmed absolutely that they have contributed nothing to the vast increase of the national riches above-mentioned; whence then must have come this addition of more then a hundred millions to the capital value of the nation? It remains therefore that:

3dly, it must come from the ballance of our foreign trade.

Our own consumption of the product of our lands and the manufacture of our people and all other goods, whether foreign or English, may serve to pass the estates from one hand to another from the most extravagant to the most saving, as is shown before, but it does not add one sixpence to the riches of the kingdom.

On the contrary our own consumption of foreign goods (if it exceeds the value of goods exported and consumed in foreign countries) and of all other foreign gains acquired by freight, fisherys or other ways, is so far from adding anything to our riches that it exhausts the treasure of the nation by carrying a ballance out of England in bullion to pay the difference.

This was probably the case in the reign of Charles II when we paid a ballance of near 2 millions to the East Indies, France, Sweeden, Denmark and the East Country, and when we were reimbursed very little or nothing of that summe from Holland,

<sup>1</sup> MS. 'gest.'

Flanders, Germany and Portugal ; and it is impossible to imagine that all the ballance we could receive from other countries together with all foreign gains whatsoever could be sufficient to reimburse us the ballance we paid to those I have first mentioned. It is certain then England did not increase in riches in that reign.

It follows, therefore, that the visible increase of the nation's riches which has been made since the Revolution can have proceeded from nothing else but the ballance annually due to us on our whole foreign trade.

This and nothing else can be pretended to be saved of the income of our whole people from their annual expences.

To this alone we owe those vast summes we have paid abroad to our foreign war without exhausting the treasures of the kingdom. This whole foreign charge I have computed before at £1,4 or 1,500,000 per annum which in the space of 20 years at the length of those warrs will amount to 29 millions. If foreign nations never were creditors to our funds above 10 millions and if they have sold to Englishmen since the last peace the value of 4 or 5 millions, the English nation has paid abroad to this charge 23 or 24 millions, yet without exhausting our treasures. This value therefore must have been paid by the annual ballance of our trade.

To this we owe the vast summes which Englishmen have advanced and lent to the Government since the Revolution, 40 millions at least at the end of the last warr, and 4 or 5 millions more if foreigners have sold so much of the publick debts to Englishmen since that time.

To this we owe all the money that lies dead or without interest (which I have supposed to be two millions at least) purely to purchase publick debts, and which has been able to raise their value near 20 per cent above par, after so great a reduction of the publick interest and during the common apprehension of a still farther reduction.

To this we owe all the money that lies dead and ready to purchase lands (which I have supposed to be 10 millions more then we had before) which has raised the value of lands 4 or 5 years beyond their old value while they are yet loaded with heavy taxes.

To this we owe the very great improvement made in building and furniture which I suppose to amount to such another summe as the last.

To this we owe the increase in our stock both in foreign and domestick trade, which I persuade myself cannot be less than 3 millions, considering the vast increase of our exportation and manufactures.

All these summes joyned together will amount to above 100 millions, which I think could not have come to England otherwise than by ballance of our foreign trade, which therefore I think must have been at least as great to our advantage taking one year with another ever since the revolution as I have made it for 21 years of that time per Table 5.

This ballance or increase of the national riches I conceive has been gained by our foreign trade since the revolution, besides the increase of the value of the publick funds and of lands and houses

which may [amount] to 50 or 60 millions more, but this summe I will reckon but a nominal or imaginary increase of the nation's riches, though it certainly enables every creditor to the publick funds, and every landed person to sell in proportion for so much more than he could doe before.

The riches acquired by the ballance of our foreign trade may by the extravagances, expences or ill fortune of the people by whom they are acquired have been played into the hands of those that are more saving and parsimonious; for example the landed interest has some share in acquiring this ballance by the vast increase and exportation of our woollen manufactures and other product of our lands; but as most landed persons generally make their rents and expences even, and as a great part of their rents has been paid to the publick, and their whole consumption is become dearer by the new excises and customs, that part of the ballance they have acquired is generally come into the hands of people that know better how to keep it.

Our poor acquired a more considerable part of this ballance, by working the manufactures that were exported for it; but these are the people that generally live from hand to mouth and especially since the many new duties on their consumption, so that their part of this ballance always comes into richer hands.

The merchants that exported the overplus of goods by which this ballance became due acquired a great part of it by foreign gains yet many of them have been forced to part with it to more saving hands.

But into whatsoever hands this vast increase of our national gain is at last come, it is plain it could not otherwise be acquired than by the ballance of our foreign trade.

And why is this ballance so much in our favour now when before the revolution it was always against us or at least not in our favour?

This is owing to our less consumption of foreign manufactures and a greater exportation of goods whether of our own or foreign nations. By the former we have less to pay to foreign nations, by the latter the more to receive from them. Both turn the advantages on our side.

There is no living without the consumption of the immediate necessarys and conveniencies of life, but there is difference between our consumption of foreign goods and those of our own growth and manufacture; for the consumption of our own we pay nothing to foreign nations, for the consumption of foreign goods we must pay the value of them to the countrys from whence they are imported, and in like manner the foreign nations must pay us for their consumption of goods they receive from us.

First then it is certain the less our consumption of foreign goods we are the less indebted to foreign nations, but how comes our consumption of foreign goods to be less since then it was before the revolution?

I answer this is owing to the high duties that have been laid upon them. These have brought down our French consumption to almost nothing, at most to less then a sixth part of what it was



before, so that where we formerly paid a million or more to the ballance of our trade with France, the ballance is little or nothing now between the two nations, or rather France pays as much to us as we do to France. The high duties on the East India goods have very much lessened our consumption of some of the East India manufactures and the use of others that have been totally prohibited in England, so that we certainly pay a great deal less for our own East India consumption than we did before. The high duties since the Revolution have had the same effect on many other foreign goods. Consequently these duties are so many sumptuary laws they have very much lessened our foreign consumption and with it the great payments the nation made on that account, by which means our treasures are kept at home. This was not the case in the reign of Charles II, when the foreign ministers made perpetual complaints to the members of the English parliament that we assisted France to destroy them (by selling our treasures for her luxury) as effectually as if we had done it with our fleets and armies.

But 2dly, though the Revolution has helped to save our treasures at home more than we did before, what has it done to bring us more from abroad?

First, the Revolution presently brought us in to take our part in a war against France and to prohibit the whole French trade, which placed us so much in the favour of all our other neighbours that they never complained of us taxing their goods in England to support our part of the charge of that war. At the same time they gave an easy entrance into their countries to all our woollen manufactures and most other goods from England, the consequence of which was that our imports did not greatly increase from Germany, Holland and Flanders but our exports thither were soon doubled and especially the exportation of our woollen manufactures, by which we had the greater summes to receive for the increase of our exportations and indeed greater than were sufficient to answer all our foreign payments to the warr.

Secondly, but to help on this increase we took of the old subsidy from the woollen manufactures at exportation which was about 2 per cent of the real value. The way to sell the quantitys is to forbear taxing the exportation, which is visibly increased since that was done; therefore I have thought it a mistake, even since the Revolution, that among other foreign goods loaded with high duties the necessary foreign materials and ingredients of our woollen manufactures have not escaped, for this is a tax on the manufacture, and upon the consumption of it as well in foreign nations as in England; but we might more safely tax the consumption of our own manufactures at 10 per cent upon ourselves, than at the half of 1 per cent upon foreign nations, for by the high duties on foreign goods we ourselves are almost confined to our own, but foreign nations are not obliged to use any goods that come from us, and we must not think to impose what duties we please upon them, and therefore I have often wondered that any subsidys are left to be paid on goods whether foreign or English that are exported out of England.

It is not a time to expect or hope for a remission of duties at exportation when the whole publick revenues are little enough in conscience to make any tolerable progress in the discharge of publick debts ; but if every man was to pay his part of an equivalent for such a remission by a tax on everything he eats, drinks or wears, whether English or foreign, the whole kingdom and every individual man in it would quickly find his account in the great increase of our exportations, nay though every man's consumption was to be taxed 10 per cent for every one per cent that should be taken off from our exportations, for though by such a tax every man would pay the greater prices for his own consumption yet the increase of exportations that would be thereby made, and consequently of the annual ballance due to England, would so vastly increase the importation of bullion, and the circulation of it through all hands as would render it more easy for everyone to pay this additional expence for his own consumption than it is now to pay for his consumption without it. However we are obliged to the revolution which notwithstanding the publick necessities remitted the old subsidy on the woollen manufactures, which no doubt has been one great cause of the great increase of that exportation.

Thirdly, in the reign of King Charles II the East India Company exported out almost nothing else but bullion, the legislature since the Revolution has obliged them to make up a 5th part of their exports in our woollen manufacture.

Fourthly, but our worke was not yet completed till our treaty with Portugal concerning their wines and our cloth,<sup>1</sup> in consequence of which each was to be the most favoured to the other in those articles respectively ; and the consequence has been that we have bought more of Portugal, yet no more wines of all countries, then we did before and yet exported and sold a much greater value of our woollen manufactures.

Fifthly, to a maritime and trading nation as we are naval stores such as iron, masts, hemp, pitch and tarr are absolutely necessary and, if they are not of our own growth or manufacture, we must buy and import them from other nations though we export so much of our own treasures to make the purchase. These things we always imported from the East Country, which consumes but little of our exports, and these always made a great ballance against us in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia and the rest of the East Country before the revolution. The legislature since, by the encouragement it has given, has opened a great trade of pitch and tarr to our provinces on the continent of America where all our purchases are made by manufactures and other goods exported out of England ; this has greatly lessened the importation of pitch and tarr from the East Country and in proportion has increased the like importation from our own plantations, and consequently has very much lessened the ballance annually due to the former and encreased the exportation of goods to the latter, and not only kept so much treasures at home but enlarged the marketts for our own goods abroad ; and the case would be much more so, if like encouragements were given for the importation of all other naval

<sup>1</sup> The Methuen Treaty of 1703.

stores from our own plantations. We might in time not only bring the imports and exports between us and the East Countries to an equality to save payments of great annual summes to the latter, but greatly increase the marketts of our manufactures and other goods in our own plantations; besides that we should be always sure of being supplied with naval stores from the latter, which are subject to Great Brittain, a part of ourselves and never likely to quarrel with us, whereas we are not always sure of having the former our friends. They have been our enemies and put us to very great inconveniencys for want of naval stores, which is the very foundation of our foreign trade.

But it would be highly unreasonable to expect that the legislature when almost all the publick revenues are appropriated to the payment of publick debts and are little enough for that purpose, should grant further encouragements out of those very revenues for other naval stores to be imported from our own plantations, or even that it should continue the bounty to the importation of pitch and tarr from those countries. No, if we would be independent of the East Country with respect to allow our naval stores, every man must think of bearing his own part in the bounty that is to be given for it and nothing else can raise a sufficient bounty but a farther tax of every man's consumption both of English and foreign goods, to compleat this happy work. However the legislature has made a good beginning by the bounty hitherto given to pitch and tarr of our own plantations, and not only saved us making vast annual payments in that article, but vastly increased our exportation of goods from England on that account.

Lastly, the high duties since the revolution have not only lessened our consumption of foreign goods but saved us great annual payments in foreign countries, and occasioned the erecting several manufactures which were not in England before, for the consumption of which we pay nothing out of England, such as linnen, spirits and white paper, as is already shown, but have also been the cause of encreasing our exportations beyond whatever they were before.

The high duties on French wines together with the Portugal treaty, that they shall be always  $\frac{1}{3}$  higher then those of that country, have helped us to a new market for our woollen manufactures, greater then all the markets we ever had, for all sorts of goods exported out of England into France.

The high duties on French linnen and East India muslins have indeed something increased our consumption of linnen imported from Germany, Flanders and Holland, to supply what is wanting of our own linnen manufacture to the consumption of our own people; but then at the same time they have been the cause of such an increase of the consumption of our woollen manufactures and other goods exported out of England in the last mentioned countries as may be said to exceed the ballance we ever paid to France and the East Indies joined together.

It appears therefore that the high duties (since the Revolution) on foreign goods have hindered a vast consumption of them and vast payments abroad on that account, and not only this but they

have so enlarged our exportations to that degree as to render the ballance due to us per table 15 not at all incredible.

But what now is become of this vast ballance ? is there so much more gold or silver in the kingdom than was before the revolution ? To this is answered :

First, as we said before 24 or 25 millions of this vast ballance have been paid to the foreign charges of our warrs since the revolution ; but, as it appears before, these foreign payments did not visibly exhaust the treasures of the nation, it is certain they were first gained by our trade before they could be paid away to our warrs.

Secondly, we see the vast services of plate in every rich family, and there are a great many more rich familys in England than were ever known in England before the Revolution, as appears by the revenues paid out of the publick to our people, almost sufficient to rival the landed interest, and whence this vast increase of the nation's stock of dead plate is as much an increase of the nation's treasures as if they were all current coin.

We see in almost every magnificent house the most celebrated foreign pieces of the ancient painters. Italy has been ransackt for these paintings as well as most other countryes. These are entered among our other imports but sworn down to almost no value at all by the importers, though 'tis well known they are highly valued in the countries from whence they come. They are as lasting as other treasures and increase in value with their age, and whence came we by these treasures but by the balance of our foreign trade ?

Diamonds and other jewels are as durable treasures as gold or silver and are accounted riches in every country in the world. Now if anyone shall doubt of our increase in these treasures let him but repair to the ring, the circles of our theatres, and the assemblies of the ladies, and he will soon be convinced of his mistake ; he will see the ornaments of few ladies almost of value enough to maintain armies ; he will often see a merchant's wife or daughter sparkling with as many diamonds as would formerly have served a dutchess and how came the kingdom to be possessed of all these jewells ?

It is certain that all of them as well as other dead stock of plate and paintings are part of the returns of the ballance of our trade, but :

Thirdly besides so vast a part of the ballance which has been paid abroad to foreign warrs, besides all that increase of plate, jewells, and other dead stock imported from abroad which neither adds nor aims at any annual interest, must there not still remain in England a very considerable part of these summs which have purchased such vast estates in the publick funds, must there not be very great summes of money in distress for want of interest that have been able to raise these funds so much above the par of the principal advanced and lent the government ? Must there be not very great summes in distress for interest to raise the purchases of all the lands in England 4 or 5 years value of their yearly rents more than was ever given for them before, and especially under the continuance of heavy taxes ; have all those new summes not known to ages before the revolution, which have built and furnished

so many pallaces left the kingdom? Or rather were they not all paid to the workman and now circulating among the people? And are there not greater summes wanting interest ready to purchase every new house that is offered to sale and to keep up this acquired value? Is there not also much more money in England as will answer the increase of stock both in foreign and domestick trade, the increase of our manufactures at home and of our exportations to foreign countries? Will the same quantity of coin that served England in the reign of King Charles II answer all the increase of occasions for it, and not only this but the increase of the luxury and universal expences of the people since that time? All these things are so many concurrent evidences that the increase of money in England is equal to all the summes that have been coined in the mint and to all the summes of foreign coin that are now current in the nation;

and

Lastly so vast an increase of the current coin of the kingdom so vast an increase of our plate and jewells and other foreign treasures, and yet such charges paid in the meantime abroad to our foreign warrs, are next to a demonstration that I have not exceeded the truth in the ballance I have given in Table 15.

TABLE 2

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Goods exported to East India and Turkey . . . . .	£380,312	8	1
Foreign coin to do. . . . .	840,251	7	6

Both added together are the total paid for goods bought from these countries . . . . .	£1,220,563	15	7
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<i>To 1700</i>	<i>To 1701</i>	<i>To 1702</i>	<i>To 1703</i>
£365,154 9 6	£361,150 14 1	£207,054 11 1	£371,765 13 11
805,793 12 6	726,461 10 0	410,826 10 0	452,052 0 0
£1,170,948 2 0	£1,087,612 4 1	£617,881 1 1	£823,817 13 11

<i>To 1704</i>	<i>To 1705</i>	<i>To 1706</i>	<i>To 1707</i>
£325,294 15 10	£117,448 2 10	£278,699 14 4	£57,386 8 5
303,011 14 2	174,593 5 0	231,665 10 0	313,283 0 0
£628,306 10 0	£292,041 7 10	£510,365 4 4	£370,283 8 5

<i>To 1708</i>	<i>To 1709</i>	<i>To 1710</i>	<i>To 1711</i>
£416,327 2 5	£168,908 8 11	£544,000 7 9	£151,916 15 8
362,459 11 3	515,281 0 0	229,565 2 6	357,830 0 0
£778,786 13 8	£684,189 8 11	£773,565 10 3	£509,746 15 8

<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£624,912 2 9	£252,895 5 6	£230,615 15 3	£218,106 19 7
157,423 14 0	333,632 7 6	207,053 12 6	402,086 1 3
£782,335 16 9	£586,527 13 0	£437,669 7 9	£620,193 0 10

<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£384,277 7 5	£354,291 14 8	£86,725 15 3	£407,893 12 9
400,478 17 6	801,837 5 0	479,787 0 0	514,201 15 0
£784,756 4 11	£1,156,128 19 8	£566,512 15 3	£922,095 7 9

TABLE 3

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Total of the imports from East India and Turkey according to inspectors' books . . . . . £973,599 4 10  
 Value of imports purchased at the cost of England per 2 deducted . . . . . 1,220,563 15 7  
 Leaves the remainder to be accounted either as over-  
 valuations or value purchased by foreign gains and  
 not by England

<i>To 1700</i>	<i>To 1701</i>	<i>To 1702</i>	<i>To 1703</i>
£1,090,804 0 0	£1,148,799 10 0	£571,557 6 6	£676,339 11 2
1,170,948 2 0	1,087,612 4 1	617,881 1 1	823,817 13 11
. . . . .	<u>£61,187 5 11</u>	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>To 1704</i>	<i>To 1705</i>	<i>To 1706</i>	<i>To 1707</i>
£1,236,291 0 0	£442,849 9 2	£884,027 10 9	£373,568 18 10
628,306 10 0	292,041 7 10	510,365 4 4	370,669 8 5
<u>£607,984 10 0</u>	<u>£150,808 1 4</u>	<u>£373,662 6 5</u>	<u>£2,899 10 5</u>
<i>To 1708</i>	<i>To 1709</i>	<i>To 1710</i>	<i>To 1711</i>
£900,678 5 7	£863,142 16 9	£259,876 5 11	£1,137,005 16 9
778,786 13 8	684,189 8 11	773,565 10 3	509,746 15 8
<u>£121,891 11 11</u>	<u>£178,953 7 10</u>	. . . . .	<u>£627,259 1 1</u>
<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£498,311 13 11	£1,455,744 7 3	£1,294,205 16 11	£891,847 14 7
782,335 16 9	586,527 13 0	437,669 7 9	620,193 0 10
. . . . .	<u>£869,216 14 3</u>	<u>£856,536 9 2</u>	<u>£271,654 13 9</u>
<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£533,686 4 8	£877,992 4 10	£1,760,196 0 11	£705,034 8 9
784,756 4 11	1,156,128 19 8	566,512 15 3	922,095 7 9
. . . . .	. . . . .	<u>£1,193,683 5 8</u>	. . . . .



TABLE 4

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Exported to Africa and Madera per inspector's books .	£104,036	7	0
Imported from do. to England per said books .	21,523	18	11
Remains ballance due to England per said books .	£82,512	8	1

<i>To 1700</i>	<i>To 1701</i>	<i>To 1702</i>	<i>To 1703</i>
£167,303 17 9	£144,943 19 9	£109,683 11 7	£126,237 0 11
27,417 7 6	22,689 8 6	34,494 16 8	19,135 13 3
£139,886 10 3	£122,254 11 3	£75,188 14 11	£107,101 7 8

<i>To 1704</i>	<i>To 1705</i>	<i>To 1706</i>	<i>To 1707</i>
£100,464 1 7	£84,603 3 4	£63,302 9 2	£96,497 13 5
18,651 12 11	16,964 16 10	7,345 1 8	10,917 11 10
£81,812 8 8	£67,638 6 6	£55,957 7 6	£85,580 1 7

<i>To 1708</i>	<i>To 1709</i>	<i>To 1710</i>	<i>To 1711</i>
£84,068 10 0	£75,846 2 1	£86,777 19 5	£76,197 0 1
9,908 11 7	6,252 5 2	20,972 10 7	10,881 13 1
£74,159 18 5	£69,593 16 11	£65,805 8 10	£65,515 7 0

<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£73,180 3 4	£199,963 2 9	£143,363 13 5	£109,476 15 4
13,602 11 8	13,526 19 5	30,716 11 1	37,246 6 3
£59,577 11 8	£186,436 3 4	£112,647 2 4	£72,230 9 1

<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£203,061 10 8	£193,991 6 3	£159,825 12 10	£157,896 4 9
36,070 18 9	23,274 17 5	28,903 2 11	24,419 4 2
£166,990 11 11	£170,716 8 10	£130,922 9 11	£133,477 0 7

TABLE 5

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

The whole value paid by England to Antigua, Barbadoes, Carolina, Jamaica, Mountserat, Nevis, St. Christophers, Virginia, Maryland, West Indies in general, by goods exported to those countrys per inspector's books . . .				£559,055	5	6
Per ballance due from Africa and Maderas per Table 4 . .				82,512	8	1
Per annual value not exceeding half that ballance paid per Irish and American provisions . . .				41,256	4	1
Per total of foreign coin exported to Africa, Maderas and said plantations . . .				1,558	5	0
Added together is the total paid per England for goods bought from the said plantations . . .				£684,382	2	8
<hr/>						
<i>To 1700</i>		<i>To 1701</i>		<i>To 1702</i>		<i>To 1703</i>
£517,538	6 0	£552,841	0 5	£337,718	10 0	£493,977 0 7
139,886	10 3	122,254	11 3	75,188	14 11	107,101 7 8
69,943	5 1	61,127	5 7	37,594	7 5	53,550 13 10
4,985	0 0	7,054	10 0	1,330	0 0	200 0 0
£732,353	1 4	£743,227	7 3	£451,831	12 4	£654,829 2 1
<hr/>						
<i>To 1704</i>		<i>To 1705</i>		<i>To 1706</i>		<i>To 1707</i>
£371,879	18 7	£531,726	12 0	£362,666	9 5	£554,420 18 5
81,812	8 8	67,638	6 6	55,957	7 5	85,580 1 7
40,906	4 4	33,819	3 3	27,978	13 8	42,790 0 9
						26 15 0
£494,598	11 7	£633,184	1 9	£446,602	10 6	£682,817 15 9
<hr/>						
<i>To 1708</i>		<i>To 1709</i>		<i>To 1710</i>		<i>To 1711</i>
£436,652	12 8	£527,149	3 11	£385,438	0 6	£378,032 12 8
74,159	18 5	69,593	16 11	65,805	8 10	65,315 7 0
37,079	19 2	34,796	18 5	32,902	14 5	32,657 13 6
£547,892	10 3	£631,539	19 3	£484,146	3 9	£476,005 13 2
<hr/>						
<i>To 1712</i>		<i>To 1713</i>		<i>To 1714</i>		<i>To 1715</i>
£489,193	7 3	£568,565	19 7	£641,186	6 8	£623,140 3 3
59,577	11 8	186,336	3 4	112,647	2 4	72,230 9 1
29,788	15 10	93,168	1 8	56,323	11 2	36,115 4 6
130	0 0	2,929	5 0	2,463	7 6	831 10 0
£578,689	14 9	£850,999	9 7	£812,620	7 8	£732,317 6 10
<hr/>						
<i>To 1716</i>		<i>To 1717</i>		<i>To 1718</i>		<i>To 1719</i>
£712,540	14 6	£664,034	10 7	£780,106	16 8	£523,202 10 7
166,990	11 11	170,716	8 10	130,922	9 11	133,477 0 7
83,495	5 11	85,358	4 5	65,461	4 11	66,738 10 3
4,496	15 0	680	0 0	1,160	2 6	1,750 0 0
£967,523	7 4	£920,789	3 10	£977,650	14 0	£725,168 1 5

TABLE 6

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Total value of imports from places mentioned in Table 5 per Inspector's books . . . . .	£866,697 13 0
Total value of imports purchased at the cost of England per Table 5 . . . . .	684,382 2 8
Remains for overvaluations and value purchased by foreign gains . . . . .	£182,315 10 4

<i>To 1700</i>	<i>To 1701</i>	<i>To 1702</i>	<i>To 1703</i>
£1,155,607 0 10 732,353 1 4	£991,313 6 5 743,277 7 3	£762,821 0 7 451,831 12 4	£784,613 16 11 654,829 2 1
£423,253 19 6	£248,035 19 2	£310,989 8 3	£129,784 14 10

<i>To 1704</i>	<i>To 1705</i>	<i>To 1706</i>	<i>To 1707</i>
£770,696 13 3 494,598 11 7	£826,042 12 5 633,184 1 9	£695,449 11 5 446,602 10 6	£835,990 10 11 682,817 15 9
£276,098 1 8	£192,858 10 8	£248,847 0 11	£153,172 15 2

<i>To 1708</i>	<i>To 1709</i>	<i>To 1710</i>	<i>To 1711</i>
£817,666 12 4 547,892 10 3	£929,835 17 4 631,539 19 3	£994,891 13 1 484,146 3 9	£842,880 7 5 476,005 13 2
£269,774 2 1	£298,295 18 1	£510,745 9 4	£366,874 14 3

<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£1,011,910 14 0 578,689 14 9	£1,033,377 4 10 850,999 9 7	£1,157,192 12 1 812,620 7 8	£1,205,692 11 11 732,317 6 10
£433,220 19 3	£182,377 15 3	£344,572 4 5	£473,375 5 1

<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£1,434,038 3 0 967,523 7 4	£1,546,806 18 10 920,789 3 10	£1,270,326 1 10 977,650 14 0	£1,268,226 0 5 725,168 1 5
£466,514 15 8	£626,017 15 0	£292,675 7 10	£543,057 19 0

TABLE 7

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Value paid per exports to Africa and Maderas equal to imports from those countries

				£21,523 18 11
<i>To 1700</i>	<i>To 1701</i>	<i>To 1702</i>	<i>To 1703</i>	
£27,417 7 6	£22,689 8 6	£34,494 16 8	£19,135 13 3	
<i>To 1704</i>	<i>To 1705</i>	<i>To 1706</i>	<i>To 1707</i>	
£18,651 12 11	£16,964 16 10	£7,345 1 8	£10,917 11 10	
<i>To 1708</i>	<i>To 1709</i>	<i>To 1710</i>	<i>To 1711</i>	
£9,908 11 7	£6,252 5 2	£20,972 10 7	£10,881 13 1	
<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>	
£13,602 11 8	£13,526 19 5	£30,716 11 1	£37,246 6 3	
<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>	
£36,070 18 9	£23,274 17 5	£28,903 2 11	£24,419 4 2	

TABLE 8

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Total value of Imports from Canaries, Denmark, Norway, East Country, Flanders, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Newfoundland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Streights, Sweeden, Venice, Isle Alderney, Guernsey, Jersey, Bermudas, Hudson's Bay, New England, New York and Pensilvenia per inspector's books .

Ten per cent being deducted for overvaluations . . . £3,861,386 4 4  
 386,138 12 5

Real value of imports from the said countrys remains . £3,475,247 11 11

<i>To 1700</i>	<i>To 1701</i>	<i>To 1702</i>	<i>To 1703</i>
£3,723,764 1 0	£3,729,493 13 4	£2,808,898 15 5	£2,789,406 0 0
372,376 8 1	372,949 7 4	280,889 17 6	278,940 12 0
£3,351,387 12 11	£3,356,544 6 0	£2,528,008 17 11	£2,510,465 8 0

<i>To 1704</i>	<i>To 1705</i>	<i>To 1706</i>	<i>To 1707</i>
£3,261,163 18 3	£2,666,673 1 10	£2,488,947 7 0	£3,009,186 16 5
326,116 7 10	266,667 6 2	248,894 14 8	300,918 13 7
£2,935,047 10 5	£2,400,005 15 8	£2,240,052 12 4	£2,708,268 2 10

<i>To 1708</i>	<i>To 1709</i>	<i>To 1710</i>	<i>To 1711</i>
£2,906,335 12 9	£2,661,228 0 1	£2,692,016 14 5	£2,660,116 4 10
290,633 11 3	266,122 16 0	269,201 13 5	266,011 12 5
£2,615,702 1 6	£2,395,105 4 1	£2,422,815 1 0	£2,394,104 12 5

<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£2,769,876 11 1	£3,106,692 10 8	£3,475,876 18 4	£3,543,403 9 11
276,987 13 2	310,669 5 1	347,587 13 10	354,340 6 11
£2,492,888 17 11	£2,796,023 5 7	£3,128,289 4 6	£3,189,063 3 0

<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£4,349,806 15 7	£3,758,749 16 8	£3,436,893 9 10	£3,352,402 5 1
434,980 13 6	375,874 19 8	343,689 6 11	335,240 4 6
£3,914,826 2 1	£3,382,874 17 0	£3,093,204 2 11	£3,017,162 0 7

TABLE 9

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Total value of exports to Canaries etc., mentioned in Table 8 as per inspector's books . . . . .	£4,997,894	9	5
Two per cent deducted for double or over entries . . . . .	99,957	17	9
Remains exported the value of . . . . .	4,897,936	11	8
Foreign gains fisheries and freight equal at least to 20 per cent of the last value . . . . .	979,587	6	4

To 1700	To 1701	To 1702	To 1703
£5,586,453 10 9	£5,955,873 19 1	£4,252,511 19 3	£5,304,610 7 2
111,729 1 6	119,117 9 6	85,050 4 9	106,092 4 1
5,474,724 9 3	5,836,756 9 7	4,167,461 14 6	5,198,518 3 1
1,094,944 17 10	1,167,351 5 11	833,492 6 10	1,039,703 12 7

To 1704	To 1705	To 1706	To 1707
£5,489,768 14 6	£4,659,791 11 3	£5,609,611 5 9	£5,828,162 11 7
109,795 7 5	93,195 16 7	112,192 4 6	116,563 5 0
5,379,973 7 1	4,566,595 14 8	5,497,419 1 3	5,711,599 6 7
1,075,944 13 5	913,319 2 11	1,099,483 16 3	1,142,319 17 4

To 1708	To 1709	To 1710	To 1711
£5,711,443 17 9	£5,217,299 16 1	£5,365,770 6 1	£5,433,038 4 3
114,228 17 7	104,345 19 11	107,315 8 1	108,660 15 3
5,597,215 0 2	5,112,953 16 2	5,258,454 18 0	5,324,377 9 0
1,119,443 0 0	1,022,590 15 3	1,051,690 19 7	1,064,875 9 9

To 1712	To 1713	To 1714	To 1715
£5,754,734 12 11	£6,052,680 1 1	£7,112,424 8 1	£5,884,324 10 6
115,094 13 10	121,053 12 0	142,248 9 9	117,686 9 9
5,639,639 19 1	5,931,626 9 1	6,970,175 18 4	5,766,638 0 9
1,127,927 19 9	1,186,325 5 9	1,394,035 3 8	1,153,327 12 1

To 1716	To 1717	To 1718	To 1719
£6,346,971 8 1	£6,817,299 16 10	£5,297,436 0 0	£5,745,724 5 6
126,939 8 6	136,345 19 11	105,948 14 4	114,914 9 8
6,220,031 19 7	6,670,953 16 11	5,191,487 5 8	5,630,809 15 10
1,244,006 7 11	1,334,190 15 4	1,038,297 9 1	1,126,161 19 2

TABLE 10

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Repeats the value of imports in Table 8 as it stands at the foot of that Table striped of its overvaluations, viz. 10 per cent of the inspector's value . . .	£3,475,247	11	11
Deducts a value purchased per foreign gains equal to 20 per cent of our exports to those countries as at the foot of Table 9 . . . . .	979,587	6	4
Leaves the remainder as the value of those imports purchased at the cost of England . . . . .	£2,495,660	5	7

<i>To 1700</i>	<i>To 1701</i>	<i>To 1702</i>	<i>To 1703</i>
£3,351,387 12 11	£3,356,544 6 0	£2,528,008 17 11	£2,510,465 8 0
1,014,944 17 10	1,167,351 5 10	833,492 6 10	1,039,703 12 7
£1,336,442 15 1	£2,189,193 0 2	£1,694,516 11 1	£1,470,761 15 5

<i>To 1704</i>	<i>To 1705</i>	<i>To 1706</i>	<i>To 1707</i>
£2,935,047 10 5	£2,400,005 15 8	£2,240,052 12 4	£2,708,268 2 10
1,075,994 13 5	913,319 2 11	1,099,483 12 3	1,142,319 17 4
£1,859,052 17 0	£1,486,686 12 9	£1,140,569 0 1	£1,565,948 5 6

<i>To 1708</i>	<i>To 1709</i>	<i>To 1710</i>	<i>To 1711</i>
£2,664,302 1 6	£2,395,105 4 1	£2,422,815 1 0	£2,394,104 12 5
1,119,443 0 0	1,022,590 15 3	1,051,690 19 7	1,064,875 9 9
£1,544,859 1 6	£1,372,514 8 10	£1,371,124 1 5	£1,329,229 2 8

<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£2,492,888 17 11	£2,796,023 5 7	£3,128,289 4 6	£3,189,063 3 0
1,127,927 19 9	1,186,325 5 9	1,394,035 3 8	1,153,327 12 1
£1,364,960 18 2	£1,609,697 19 10	£1,734,254 0 10	£2,035,735 10 11

<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£3,914,826 2 1	£3,382,874 17 0	£3,093,204 8 11	£3,017,162 0 10
1,244,006 7 11	1,334,190 15 4	1,038,297 9 1	1,126,161 19 2
£2,670,819 14 2	£2,048,684 1 8	£2,054,906 19 10	£1,891,000 1 8



TABLE II

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Repeats the value of imports purchased per England at the foot of Table 10 from countries mentioned in Table 8

Allows the goods bought by England and lost or taken coming from those countries and foreign ships sold in England to be equal to 10 per cent of that summe

£2,495,660 5 7

249,566 0 6

<i>To 1700</i>	<i>To 1701</i>	<i>To 1702</i>	<i>To 1703</i>
£2,336,442 15 1 233,644 5 6	£2,189,193 0 2 218,919 6 0	£1,694,516 11 1 169,451 13 1	£1,470,761 15 5 147,076 3 6
<i>To 1704</i>	<i>To 1705</i>	<i>To 1706</i>	<i>To 1707</i>
£1,859,052 17 0 185,905 5 8	£1,486,686 12 9 148,668 13 3	£1,140,569 0 1 114,056 18 0	£1,565,948 5 6 156,594 16 6
<i>To 1708</i>	<i>To 1709</i>	<i>To 1710</i>	<i>To 1711</i>
£1,544,859 1 6 154,485 18 2	£1,372,514 8 10 137,251 8 10	£1,371,124 1 5 137,112 8 1	£1,329,229 2 8 123,922 18 3
<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£1,364,960 18 2 136,496 1 10	£1,609,697 19 10 160,969 15 11	£1,734,254 0 10 173,426 8 1	£2,035,735 10 11 203,573 11 1
<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£2,670,819 15 2 267,081 19 6	£2,048,684 1 8 204,868 8 2	£2,054,906 19 10 205,490 13 11	£1,891,000 1 8 189,100 0 2

TABLE 12

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

To come at the value of freight paid by England to foreign shipping gives, 1st the inspector's value of imports from the islands and continent of America . . . £916,190 19 1  
 2dly allowing 24 per cent of that value to every ton divides the whole by 24 to give the no. of tons . . . 38,174 12 5  
 Thirdly multiply the no. of ton per £4 to give the whole value of freights paid to that importation . . . 152,698 9 8  
 Fourthly sets the 5th part of the value as the whole freight paid by England to our plantation shipping . . . 30,539 13 11  
 The double of this last summe as the freight paid by England to our plantation and all other foreign shipping . . . 61,079 7 10

To 1700	To 1701	To 1702	To 1703
£1,226,701 19 7	£1,049,804 12 1	£813,756 13 1	£881,237 16 0
51,112 11 0	43,741 17 0	33,906 10 0½	36,843 4 0½
204,450 6 4	174,967 8 8	135,626 2 0	147,372 19 4
40,890 6 4	34,993 9 8	27,125 4 5	29,474 11 10
81,780 2 6	69,986 19 4	54,250 8 10	58,949 3 8

To 1704	To 1705	To 1706	To 1707
£814,491 16 11	£857,538 16 1	£731,745 5 3	£889,709 12 3
33,937 3 0½	35,730 15 0½	30,489 7 0½	37,071 4 0½
135,748 12 8	142,923 2 8	121,957 10 8	148,284 18 8
27,149 14 6	28,584 12 6	24,391 10 1	29,656 19 8
54,299 9 0	57,169 5 0	48,783 0 2	59,313 19 4

To 1708	To 1709	To 1710	To 1711
£884,345 16 11	£974,057 11 10	£1,035,485 11 6	£882,758 4 10
36,847 14 0½	40,585 14 0½	43,145 4 0½	36,781 11 0½
147,390 19 4	162,342 18 8	172,580 18 4	147,126 7 4
29,478 3 10	32,486 11 8	34,516 3 8	29,425 5 5
58,956 7 8	64,937 3 4	69,032 7 4	58,850 10 10

To 1712	To 1713	To 1714	To 1715
£1,057,265 1 3	£1,104,569 14 1	£1,249,956 9 8	£1,299,549 17 0
44,052 14 0½	46,023 14 0½	52,081 10 0½	54,147 18 0½
176,210 16 8	184,094 19 0	208,326 1 4	216,591 12 8
35,242 3 4	36,818 19 9	41,665 4 3	43,318 6 6
70,484 6 8	73,637 19 6	83,330 8 6	86,636 13 0

To 1716	To 1717	To 1718	To 1719
£1,543,847 18 9	£1,643,100 8 10	£1,396,967 5 2	£1,373,505 9 1
64,326 19 11	68,462 10 4	58,206 19 4	57,229 7 10
257,307 19 8	273,850 1 4	232,827 17 4	228,917 11 4
51,461 11 11	54,770 0 3	46,565 11 5	45,783 10 3
102,923 3 10	109,540 0 6	93,131 2 10	91,567 0 6

TABLE 13

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Gives the value of imports from France and Holland as  
per inspector's books . . . . .

£589,311 19 1

And makes a third part of that value equal to all clandestine  
imports . . . . .

196,437 6 4

<i>To 1700</i>	<i>To 1701</i>	<i>To 1702</i>	<i>To 1703</i>
£621,713 11 4	£645,197 16 9	£512,893 12 2	£522,430 9 7
207,237 17 1	215,065 18 11	170,964 10 8	174,143 9 10
<i>To 1704</i>	<i>To 1705</i>	<i>To 1706</i>	<i>To 1707</i>
£756,843 3 11	£572,209 15 7	£622,998 4 0	£594,772 2 8
252,281 1 3	190,736 11 10	207,666 1 4	198,257 7 6
<i>To 1708</i>	<i>To 1709</i>	<i>To 1710</i>	<i>To 1711</i>
£699,772 13 0	£519,415 19 0	£637,447 17 9	£649,005 16 9
233,257 11 0	173,138 13 0	212,482 12 7	216,335 5 7
<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£605,062 3 4	£564,497 13 6	£535,468 8 4	£483,715 19 0
201,687 7 9	188,165 17 10	178,489 9 5	161,238 13 0
<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£597,963 6 8	£597,237 9 11	£690,353 1 2	£586,936 6 3
199,321 2 2	199,075 16 7	230,117 13 8	195,645 8 9

TABLE 14

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Repeats the value paid to the East India and Turkey per Table 2 . . . . .	£1,220,563	15	7
To the plantations in Table 5 value paid per that table . . . . .	684,382	2	8
To Africa and Maderas per Table 7 . . . . .	21,523	18	11
Value of imports purchased per England from all other countries per Table 10 . . . . .	2,495,560	5	7
Value of goods bought abroad and lost or taken in their way to England, also of plantation ships sold in England per Table 11 . . . . .	249,556	0	6
Value of freight paid to plantation and other foreign shipping per Table 12 . . . . .	61,079	7	10
Value of all clandestine imports bought per England per Table 13 . . . . .	196,437	6	4
Amount of all these as the whole value of foreign goods bought per England . . . . .	£4,929,212	17	5

To 1700	To 1701	To 1702	To 1703
£1,770,948 2 0	£1,087,612 4 1	£617,881 1 1	£823,817 13 11
132,353 1 4	743,277 7 3	451,831 12 4	654,829 2 1
27,417 7 6	22,689 8 6	34,494 16 8	19,135 13 3
2,336,442 15 1	2,189,193 0 2	1,694,516 11 1	1,470,761 15 5
223,664 5 6	218,919 19 4	169,451 13 1	147,076 3 6
81,780 2 6	69,986 19 4	54,250 8 10	58,949 3 8
207,237 17 1	215,065 18 11	170,964 10 8	174,143 9 10
£4,789,823 11 0	£4,546,744 4 3	£3,193,390 13 9	£3,348,713 1 8

To 1704	To 1705	To 1706	To 1707
£628,306 10 0	£292,041 7 10	£510,365 4 4	£370,669 8 5
494,598 11 7	633,184 1 9	446,602 10 6	682,817 15 9
18,651 12 11	16,964 16 10	7,345 1 8	10,917 11 10
1,859,052 17 0	1,486,686 12 9	1,140,569 0 1	1,565,948 5 6
185,905 5 8	148,668 13 4	114,056 18 0	156,594 16 6
54,299 9 0	57,169 5 0	48,783 0 2	59,313 19 4
252,281 1 3	190,736 11 10	207,666 1 4	198,257 7 6
£3,493,095 7 5	£2,825,451 9 4	£2,475,387 16 1	£3,044,519 4 10

To 1708	To 1709	To 1710	To 1711
£778,786 13 8	£684,189 8 11	£773,565 10 3	£509,746 15 8
547,892 10 3	631,539 19 3	484,146 3 8	476,005 13 2
9,908 11 7	6,252 5 2	20,972 10 7	10,811 13 1
1,544,859 1 6	1,372,514 8 10	1,371,124 1 5	1,329,229 2 8
154,485 18 2	137,251 8 10	137,112 8 1	132,922 18 3
58,956 7 8	64,937 3 4	69,032 7 4	58,850 10 10
233,257 11 0	173,138 13 0	212,482 12 7	216,335 5 7
£3,328,146 13 10	£3,069,823 7 4	£3,068,435 13 11	£2,733,971 19 3

TABLE 14 (*continued*)

<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£782,335 16 9	£586,527 13 0	£437,669 7 9	£620,193 0 10
578,689 14 9	850,999 9 7	812,620 7 8	732,317 6 10
13,602 11 8	13,526 19 5	30,716 11 1	37,246 6 3
1,364,960 18 2	1,609,697 19 10	1,734,254 0 10	2,035,735 10 11
130,496 1 10	160,969 15 11	173,425 8 1	203,573 11 1
70,484 6 8	73,637 19 6	83,330 8 6	86,636 13 0
201,687 7 9	188,165 17 10	178,489 9 5	161,238 13 0
£3,148,256 17 7	£3,483,525 15 1	£3,450,505 13 4	£3,876,941 1 11
<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£784,756 4 11	£1,156,128 19 8	£566,512 15 3	£922,095 7 9
967,523 7 4	920,789 3 10	977,650 14 0	725,168 1 5
36,070 18 9	23,274 17 5	28,903 2 11	24,419 4 2
2,670,819 15 2	2,048,684 1 8	2,054,906 19 10	1,891,000 1 8
267,081 19 6	204,868 8 2	205,490 13 11	189,100 0 2
102,923 3 10	109,540 0 6	93,131 2 10	91,567 0 6
199,321 2 2	199,075 16 7	230,117 13 8	195,645 8 9
£5,028,496 11 10	£4,662,361 7 10	£4,156,713 2 5	£4,038,995 4 5

TABLE 15

*From Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1699*

Gives the value of exports per Table I . . . . .	£5,818,516	18	2
Deducts the value bought by England per Table 14 . . . . .	4,929,212	17	5
The remainder is ballance due to England . . . . .	£889,304	0	9

<i>To 1700</i>	<i>To 1701</i>	<i>To 1702</i>	<i>To 1703</i>
£6,339,763 7 10	£6,732,468 7 4	£4,701,339 6 5	£6,046,946 0 4
4,789,823 11 0	4,546,744 4 3	3,193,390 13 9	3,348,713 1 8
£1,549,939 16 10	£2,185,724 3 1	£1,507,948 12 8	£2,698,232 18 8

<i>To 1704</i>	<i>To 1705</i>	<i>To 1706</i>	<i>To 1707</i>
£6,063,204 11 8	£5,202,786 19 8	£6,125,957 18 8	£6,311,170 10 7
3,493,095 7 5	2,825,451 9 4	2,475,387 16 1	3,044,519 4 10
£2,570,109 4 3	£2,377,335 10 4	£3,650,570 2 7	£3,266,651 5 9

<i>To 1708</i>	<i>To 1709</i>	<i>To 1710</i>	<i>To 1711</i>
£6,433,135 3 5	£5,795,090 6 1	£6,169,304 10 11	£5,843,727 17 8
3,328,146 13 10	3,069,823 7 4	3,068,435 13 11	2,733,971 19 3
£3,104,988 9 7	£2,725,266 18 9	£3,100,868 17 0	£3,109,755 18 5

<i>To 1712</i>	<i>To 1713</i>	<i>To 1714</i>	<i>To 1715</i>
£6,731,463 7 0	£6,736,658 9 9	£7,824,541 19 7	£6,591,060 4 8
3,148,256 17 7	3,483,525 15 1	3,450,595 13 4	3,876,941 1 11
£3,583,206 9 5	£3,253,132 14 8	£4,374,036 6 3	£2,714,119 2 9

<i>To 1716</i>	<i>To 1717</i>	<i>To 1718</i>	<i>To 1719</i>
£6,908,992 6 0	£7,678,913 11 8	£6,197,612 7 1	£6,698,022 6 11
5,028,496 11 10	4,662,361 7 10	4,156,713 2 6	4,038,995 4 5
£1,880,495 14 2	£3,016,552 3 10	£2,040,899 4 8	£2,659,027 2 6

[J. LANE], *Reports of the Commissioners of Public Accounts*, vol. iii (1787), p. 346: App. to 14th Report (1786), no. 6

	Officers Names.	Employments.	By what Authority Appointed.	Salaries and Allowances from the Crown for Self, Deputies and Clerks.	Payments of the Principals or other Officers to the Deputies and Clerks.	Amount of Fees, other Allowances and Gratitudes exclusive of Shares of Seizures.	Gross Produce of the Employment.	Payments for Taxes.	Payments to the Superannuation Fund.	Payments to Deputies and Clerks.	Other Contingent Expenses.	Net Produce of the Employment
Sect. 5. Officers for keeping Accounts respecting Trade	Peter Shaw	Register-General of all Trading Ships belonging to Great Britain	Patent } Paid in Scotland	£690 50	—	—	£740 0	£137 2	—	£190 0	—	£412 18
	James Turner	Chief Clerk	The Register-General	—	£60 0	—	60 0	—	—	—	—	60 0
		Four other clerks	Do.	—	130 0	£14 15	144 15	—	—	—	—	144 15
	John Pelham	Inspector-General of the Imports and Exports	Constitution	780	—	—	780 0	141 10	—	260 0	6 0 0	372 10
	John Tomkyns	Assistant to Do.	Do.	200	6 0	—	206 0	51 0	—	—	2 0 0	153 0
	Six clerks		The Inspector		260 0	—	260 0	—	—	—	—	260 0
				£1,720	£456 0	£14 15	£2,190 15	£329 12	—	£450 0	£8 0 0	£1,403 3

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 31.

# CATALOGUE OF STATISTICAL MATERIALS

## INTRODUCTION

The following catalogue is arranged in three chronological lists :

- I. The Inspector-General's Ledgers.
- II. Abstracts arranged under Countries, and not giving Species of Goods.
- III. Returns relating to Particular Countries or Commodities.

The chronological order is by the beginning of the period covered by each document, and when two or more documents begin from the same date, a document covering a longer period is entered before a document covering a shorter period. In another column are given, where possible, the dates at which the returns were made. From this column the chronological order of their compilation can be made out, and this will be useful to students who wish to trace the course of commercial policy, though the other chronological order, in which the list is arranged, is likely to be more generally useful, since a greater number of students will probably wish to trace the actual amounts of trade itself. Each entry includes a reference to the place where the document in question is to be found. The titles of printed books are given in *italics*, references to manuscripts in roman type. Where two or more references are given for the same document it may usually be presumed that the information given in the different places is identical ; but this has not been checked throughout, so that in some instances one copy may contain details not given in another. In the preparation of the catalogue the following classes of records and other sources have been examined :

*Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, New Series, vols. i-viii (1900-23).

*Journals of the House of Lords*.

*Journals of the House of Commons*.

*Reports of Committees of the House of Commons*

Public Record Office :

Treasury. Miscellaneous Various. (T/64, 273-84.).<sup>1</sup> T. 70/1205.

Custom House. Accounts A. Formerly belonging to the Board of Trade.

Board of Trade Miscellaneous (B. of T. 6/185, 240-1).

<sup>1</sup> There is in the Public Record Office a typewritten list of the contents of this class, which, however, gives less complete information than the present list.



Colonial Office. C.O. 388/17-42. C.O. 390/5-10, 12. Ind. 8535 (index to some of the above), formerly C.O. 390/11.  
Customs. Inspector-General's Ledgers, Customs 2. Inspector-General's Ledgers, Customs 3. Ledger of Imports and Exports, Scotland, Customs 14. Ledger of Imports and Exports, Ireland, Customs 15. States of Navigation and Commerce, Customs 17.  
Custom House.  
Ledgers of Imports and Exports.  
British Museum, Add. MS. 29,903, Add. MSS. 11,255-6, Papers of Sir William Musgrave.  
Bodelian Library.  
North Papers.

A certain number of documents are mentioned in the list which did not originate from the offices dealt with in the present volume, but which, from the general similarity of their contents, will be useful for the same purposes. No attempt, has, however, been made to give a complete list of such additional materials, and in particular the list does not include documents of one class which are important as supplementing or correcting the official statistics. These are the figures prepared by the various trading companies, of which the East India Company and the African Company were the most important. Many of them were produced on the occasions of parliamentary enquiries into the affairs of the companies, and some were published; but it has seemed best to leave them to be dealt with, as they naturally are, in connexion with the histories of the companies.

The word 'specified' in the following catalogue means that there are separate entries for a number of places or commodities as the case may be.

## CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

## I. THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S LEDGERS

- Public Record Office. Customs 2. 1696-1702. Fair copies.  
 " " Customs 3. 1696-1780. The volumes for Christmas 1704-Christmas 1705, Christmas 1711-Christmas 1712, and Christmas 1726-Christmas 1727 are missing.  
 Custom House. 1696-7; 1716-1776.

## II. ABSTRACTS ARRANGED UNDER COUNTRIES, AND NOT GIVING SPECIES OF GOODS

[From 1773 the abstracts are taken from the 'States of Navigation, Revenue and Commerce': see p. 32 above]

- Sir C. Whitworth, *State of the Trade of Great Britain* (1776): year by year, 1696-1773. The copy in the Public Record Office, B.T. 6/185, has manuscript continuation for certain countries to 1801.  
*House of Lords Papers*, New Series, iv. 430: vi. 107: year by year, 1696-9, 1699-1702.  
 D. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vols. iii-iv (1805): year by year 1760-90.  
*Accounts and Papers* (1787), vol. xix, p. 432: year by year 1773-8, for England and Scotland.  
 Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29,903 has abstracts year by year 1696-1704, but these need not be used since the information is available in print.

## III. RETURNS RELATING TO PARTICULAR COUNTRIES OR COMMODITIES

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
All commodities	V	E	England	All countries	Michaelmas 1662-Michaelmas 1663 Michaelmas 1668-Michaelmas 1669 Michaelmas 1697-Christmas 1701	18 November 1702	<i>H. of L.P.</i> , N.S., v. 69	
All goods specified	Q	I	France	London	19 October 1668-20 October 1669	4 May 1713	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xvii. 295-7	
Woollen manufactures specified	"	E	London	France	Christmas 1668-9	21 May 1713	<i>Ibid.</i> 366	
All goods specified	"	"	"	"	Michaelmas 1668-9	4 June 1713	<i>Ibid.</i> 394-5	

Commodities.	Value Quantities.	Im- ported or Ex- ported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
All goods specified	Q	I	France	England	Michaelmas 1668- Michaelmas 1669	13 June 1713	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xvii. 423-4	
All goods	"		England	France	Michaelmas 1668-9		C.O. 390/5. 20	For Lords Com- missioners for Treaty of Com- merce with France
Wines	"	I	Countries speci- fied	London and out- ports	Michaelmas 1673- Christmas 1712	28 May 1713	T. 64/274. 115	Computed from amount of sub- sidy
"	"	"		"	Michaelmas 1674-96	18 May 1713	<i>Ibid.</i> 113	
Brandy	"	"		London	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 112	
Wines	"	"	All countries specified	Port of London	1675-96	"	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xvii. 363	
Brandy	"	"	"	London	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 362	
Wines	"	"	"	"	Michaelmas 1676-96	"	T. 64/274. 111	
All goods	V	E I	All countries specified		Michaelmas 1677- Christmas 1701		C.O. 388/17. 111	
All commodities and bullion (giving no. of ships)	"	E	London (E. Ind. Co.)	E. Indies and China	March 1680-March 1710		Macgregor, <i>Commercial Statistics</i> , iv. 410	
All goods specified	Q	"	Outports (with exceptions)		Michaelmas 1685-6	4 June 1713	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xvii. 398	
"	"	I		Outports (with exceptions)	"	4 June 1713	<i>Ibid.</i> 400	

"	"	"	"	France	London	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 400-2
"	"	E	"	London	France	"	"	16 June 1713	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 398-400
Woollen manufac- tures	"	"	"	"	Holland, Fland- ers, Brabant, Germany	1687-92	"	"	"	T. 64/275. 146
Number of ships importing goods	"	I	"	Denmark	England	Michaelmas 1691- Michaelmas 1696	"	23 November 1693	"	Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 1324, p. 39
Malt and barley	Q	E	"	London and out- ports	All countries	Christmas 1692-5; Michaelmas 1696- Christmas 1698	"	"	"	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xii. 443
All goods	V	I	"	Ireland	London and out- ports	Christmas 1692-5	"	"	"	<i>H. of L.P.</i> iii. 134
Goods	"	E	"	London and out- ports	Ireland	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 133
Iron, hemp, wire, pitch and tar, copper, masts, deals, furs and other goods	"	I	"	Sweden and S. Baltic	England	Per annum of late years	"	23 November 1693	"	Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 1324, p. 39
Grain, flour, etc.	Q	E	"	"	"	1696-1766	"	22 November 1766	"	T. 64/274. 66
Woollen manufac- tures specified, and other prin- cipal goods	"	"	"	England	Spain	March 1696-Christ- mas 1713	"	"	"	C.O. 390/5. 1
"	"	I	"	Spain	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 2
Brandy	"	"	"	"	London and out- ports	Michaelmas 1696- Christmas 1712	"	18 May 1713	"	T. 64/274. 114

Calculated from  
Customs duties

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Wine	Q	I	All countries specified	London and out-ports of Eng-land specified	Michaelmas 1696-Christmas 1712	11 May 1713	<i>J.H.C.</i> xvii. 365	
Brandy	"	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 364	
Bullion	"	E	England	E. Indies	1696-9	15 February 1700	<i>H. of L.P.</i> , N.S., iv. 91	
Italian wrought silk	"	I	Italy	England	Michaelmas 1696-Michaelmas 1699	12 February 1700	<i>Ibid.</i> 92	
All commodities	V	"	All countries specified	"	Michaelmas 1696-Christmas 1699	12 February 1702	<i>Ibid.</i> 430	
		E	England	All countries specified	specified	"	"	
Gold and silver	Q	"	"	All countries	Michaelmas 1696-Christmas 1699	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 436	
English spirits	Q	"	London	"	Michaelmas 1696-8	"	<i>J.H.C.</i> xii. 402	
"	"	"	London and out-ports of Ireland	"	Michaelmas 1696-7	13 January 1698/9	"	
"	"	"	"	"	"	13 January 1698	"	
Goods	V	I	Ireland	London and out-ports specified	"	"	<i>H. of L.P.</i> , iii. 134	
"	"	E	Port of London and outports specified	Ireland	"	"	"	
Cotton wool	Q	I	All countries	England	1697-1800	"	Macgregor, iv. 754	Official sources
		E	England	All countries				

Cotton goods	V	E	Great Britain	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 768	"
Cotton, raw and manufactured	Q V	I E	All countries England	England All countries	1697-1819, various selected years	"	Baines, E. <i>History of Cotton Manufacture in Gt. Britain</i> (1835) pp. 110-11, 215, 346-7. <i>J.H.C.</i> , xvi. 106	No date and no origin.
English unwrought copper	"	E		"	29 September 1697-25 December 1707	12 February 1708		
All commodities	V	I E	All countries specified England	England All countries	Michaelmas 1697-Christmas 1701 (medium for one year) for each country		T. 70/1205. A. 42	No date or source
"	"	I E	All countries England	England All countries	Michaelmas 1697-Christmas 1701 specified		"	
Woollen manufactures specified	Q	"	"	"	Michaelmas 1697-Christmas 1701	18 November 1702	<i>H. of L.P.</i> , N.S., v. 69	
Woollen manufactures	V	"	"	"	Christmas 1697-Christmas 1701	"	"	
All commodities specified	Q	I	Jamaica	England	Christmas 1697-29 September 1700	16 February 1702	<i>Ibid.</i> , iv. 444	Date of return as date of Lords Committee Report
All commodities	V	" E	Sweden, Denmark and Baltic or Eastland England	" Sweden, Denmark and Baltic or Eastland	Christmas 1697-Christmas 1699	"	<i>Ibid.</i> , 456	
Silk, cotton, herba, <sup>1</sup> manufactures	Q	I	London	East Indies	Christmas 1697-9		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xiii. 176-7	

<sup>1</sup> A sort of grass-cloth imported from India.

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
East India manufactures of silk, cotton, herba	Q	E	London	All countries	Christmas 1697-9		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xiii 177.	
East Indies manufactures of silk, cotton, herba	"	"	All countries	Outports	"		<i>Ibid.</i> 178	
All goods	V	"	Plantations specified		Michaelmas 1697-8 Christmas 1698-9		<i>Ibid.</i> 725	
Silver	Q	E	London	All countries specified	15 October 1697- 26 January 1699	27 January 1699	<i>Ibid.</i> 147-51	From the Secretary's Office
All goods	V	"	Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Baltick		Christmas 1697- Michaelmas 1698; Christmas 1689-9		<i>Ibid.</i> 723	
All goods specified	Q	E	Jamaica		Christmas 1697- 12 December 1699		<i>Ibid.</i> 724	
All commodities	V	"	America and W. Indies colonies specified England	England	Michaelmas 1697- Michaelmas 1698	16 February 1702	<i>H. of L.P.</i> , NS., iv. 446	
English spirits	Q	"	London	America and W. Indies colonies specified	Michaelmas 1697-8	13 January 1698/9	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xii. 402	
Corn and grain, specified	"	"	London and outports, specified	All countries (specified in case of London only)	? 1697-8	16 February 1699	<i>Ibid.</i> , xiii. 234	
Woollen manufactures	"	"	London and outports, specified	All countries	Michaelmas 1697		<i>Ibid.</i> 152-4	

English spirits	"	"	Outports of Ireland		Michaelmas 1697— Lady Day 1698	13 January 1698/9	<i>Ibid.</i> , xii. 402	
Molten silver and bullion	"	"	"	Rotterdam, Holland, India	19 November 1697— 2 January 1698	27 January 1699	<i>Ibid.</i> , xiii. 151-2	From Secretary's Office
Foreign coin and bullion	V	"	London and out-ports	All countries specified	Christmas 1698— Christmas 1715	17 December 1717	<i>Ibid.</i> , xviii. 672	
All goods and merchandise	Q V	I E	All countries specified		Christmas 1698— 1715		C.O. 390/5. 3	
Foreign coin and bullion	"	E	Great Britain	All countries specified	"	17 December 1717	<i>Ibid.</i> 4	
Calicoes, tea, coffee, pepper	Q	I E			Christmas 1698— 1701, 1712-15	13 October 1718	<i>Ibid.</i> 34	
Negroes; those imported by Royal Africa Co. and separate traders distinguished	Number	I		Plantations specified	14 June 1698— December 1707		T. 70/1205. A. 43	Date and origin not given
Bullion specified	V	E	England	E. Indies	1698-1703		Macgregor, iv. 340	
All commodities (E. India)	"	Re-exported	"	All countries	1698-1702		"	From an account made up by the Inspector-general
Woollen manufactures specified	Q	E		"	Christmas 1698— 1702	20 May 1713	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xvii. 366-7	
"	"	"		Portugal	"	4 June 1713	<i>Ibid.</i> 397	
All goods	V	I E	Spain		Christmas, 1698— 1701	24 July 1714	C.O. 388/17. 35	
All goods specified	Q V	" "	"		"	18 August 1714	C.O. 390/8. F.	



Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
All commodities specified	Q	I	New York province	England	8 June 1698-25 September 1700	16 February 1702	<i>H. of L.P.</i> , N.S., iv. 445	From an account made up by the Inspector-general
"	"	"	Barbadoes	"	"	25 March 1698-24 June 1700	"	
All commodities	V	I	America and W. Indies—colonies specified England	"	Christmas 1698—Christmas 1699	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 447	
Goods, silver and gold	"	E	East India	America and W. Indies—colonies specified	Christmas 1698-9		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xiii. 723	
All commodities and bullion	"	I	All countries England	England All countries	Christmas 1699—Christmas 1702, specified	27 November 1704	<i>H. of L.P.</i> , N.S., vi. 107	
All goods specified	Q	E	Barbadoes		25 March 1699-24 June 1700		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xiii. 724	
Naval stores specified	"	I	Russia, ports specified	London	25 March 1699-7 February 1700		<i>Ibid.</i> 235	From collector in Port of London
Brass in the ingot	"	E			1 January 1700-5 January 1783	23 January 1783	<i>T. 64/276B.</i> 416	
Naval stores, specified	"	I	Russia and the east, countries specified		Christmas, 1700-4, 1720-4	24 February 1724/5	<i>C.O.</i> 390/5. 57	
Wine	"	"	Portugal	England	5 January 1700-6	6 October 1771	<i>T. 64/274.</i> 134	

Woollen manufac- tures	V	E	England — Lon- don and out- ports	East Country, Germany and Holland	Christmas 1700— Christmas 1702, specified	27 January 1704	<i>H. of L.P.,</i> N.S., v. 351
Linen	"	I	East Country, Germany and Holland	England — Lon- don and out- ports	"	29 January 1703	"
All goods	"	I E	All countries specified		Christmas 1700—2	16 March 1714	C.O. 390/5. 14
Naval stores—im- ported by Mus- covy Company	Q	I	Archangel	England	17 September 1700— 4 February 1701	21 March 1700—1	<i>H. of L.P.,</i> N.S., iv. 278
Silver	"	E	England — New E. India Co., ships speci- fied	India	Michaelmas 1701— Michaelmas 1702	16 December 1703	<i>Ibid.</i> , v. 334
Wool	"	I	Ireland	England (west of England ports specified)	Christmas 1701— Christmas 1702	"	"
"	"	"	"	England — West of England ports	Christmas 1701— Midsummer 1704	27 November 1704	<i>Ibid.</i> , vi. 108
Sugar, tobacco	"	I E	All plantations and countries, specified		Christmas 1702—22	9 June 1724	C.O. 390/5. 47
Corn and grain	"	E	England	All countries	Christmas 1702— Christmas 1703	27 November 1704	<i>H. of L.P.,</i> N.S., vi. 107
Gold and silver	"	"	England by New and United E. Ind. Cos.; ships specified	India	Michaelmas 1702— Michaelmas 1703	16 December 1703	<i>Ibid.</i> , v. 335

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Sugar, molasses, rum, etc.	Q	I	Barbados	England—colonies	25 December 1702–24 March 1703	27 November 1704	<i>H. of L.P.</i> , N.S., vi. 105	From Naval Officers' list of ships cleared at Barbados
Battery, black latten, metal prepared	"	E		Africa—English plantation	Christmas 1703—Christmas 1710		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xvii. 161	
"	"	I	All countries		"		"	
Sugar, etc., rum, lime-juice, cotton, ginger, specified	"	"	Barbados	England—colonies	25 March 1703–24 June 1703	27 November 1704	<i>H. of L.P.</i> , N.S., vi. 105	From Naval Officers' list of ships cleared at Barbados
Sugar, etc., rum, lime juice, cotton, ginger, aloes, casia fistula	"	"	"	England—colonies	25 June 1703–24 September 1703	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 106	"
All commodities—specified, including gold pieces and bullion	Q V	"	Jamaica	England	Yearly estimate	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 102	Merchants' estimate
Raw hides	Q	"	Ireland	Bristol	1705; 1710–13		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xviii. 568	Source not given
Rice	"	I E	All countries specified		Christmas 1705–12	12 May 1730	T. 64/276B. 320	
Woollen and bay yarn	"	I	All countries	London and out-ports	Michaelmas 1705–8		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xvi. 137	

Wines	"	"	Portugal	Scotland	Christmas 1705- Christmas 1708	26 February 1708/9	<i>Ibid.</i> 160	Edinburgh
Grain and flour	"	E			Christmas 1707- 5 January 1766, specified	16 February 1767	T. 64/274. 68	
Refined sugar	"	"			Christmas 1707-42	1 February 1744	T. 64/276B. 371	
Raw sugar	"	"			"	"	"	
Sugar	"	I			"	"	"	
Tanned leather	"	E	England		Christmas 1707-18	7 February 1718	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xix. 122	
Sugar	"	I	All countries specified		Christmas 1707-14	11 April 1735	T. 64/276B. 361	
Pitch, tar and masts	"	"	"		1707-13	17 February 1714	C.O. 388/17. 95	
Corn, specified	"	E	London and out- ports specified		Christmas 1707-9		T. 70/1205. A. 44	
Corn, malt, peas, specified	"	"	Outports	All countries	Christmas 1707- Christmas 1708	6 April 1709	<i>H. of L.P.</i> , N.S., viii. 306	
French wines	"	I	Scotland	London	1 May 1707-25 December 1707	4 March 1708	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xvi. 160	
Bullion and mer- chandise (no. of ships and ton- nage)	V	E	England (E. Ind. Co.)	India and China specified, 3 In- dian Provinces also specified	1708-1811 specified		Macgregor, iv. 404-5	
All commodities	"	I E	Asia England Ind. Co.)	England Asia	1708 1811		<i>Ibid.</i> 406	



Fish	"	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 7	
Undressed flax and rough hemp	"	I	All countries	London and out-ports	"	Christmas 1708-11	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xvii. 351	
Corn specified	"	E	Port of London	Portugal, Holland, the Straits, etc.	"	25 March 1708-25 March 1709	6 April 1709	From Searchers' Office
Naval stores	"	I	Russia	London	"	Christmas 1708-Michaelmas 1709	19 December 1709	Examined by original warrants in Jerquer's Office, 7 December 1709
"	"	"	"	Outports specified	"	"	13 December 1709	Commissioners of Customs
Prohibited goods specified	"	"	India	London	"	29 September 1708-25 March 1709; 25 March 1708-29 September 1709	12 December 1709	
Raw sugar, refined sugar	"	E	London	All countries	"	Christmas 1710-20	4 April 1732	
Coal	"	"	"	All countries specified	"	Christmas 1710-13	T. 64/276B. 357	
Wrought iron and iron in bars	"	"	"	Plantations	"	Christmas 1710-18	14 June 1714	
Foreign gold and silver coin—for- eign gold and silver bullion	"	"	Great Britain	All countries specified	"	25 March 1710-20 January 1717	24 March 1737	
Foreign coin and bullion	"	(Entered for exportation)	"	"	"	Lady Day 1710-16 January 1717	C.O. 390/5. 10	
	"						21 January 1717	
	"						<i>J.H.C.</i> , xviii. 682	

From Searchers,  
Office

Examined by  
original war-  
rants in Jer-  
quer's Office, 7  
December 1709

Commissioners of Customs

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Logwood	Q	I E	Plantations in America	England	Christmas 1710-16	18 June 1717	C.O. 390/5. 38	
Haberdashery, millinery, gold and silver lace and English wrought silk	V	"		Germany and Holland	Christmas 1710-14	20 May 1715	C.O. 388/17. 131	
Tea	Q V	I (re-exported)	E. Indies and China England	England All countries	1711-1811		Macgregor, iv. 406	
Pearl ashes and pot ashes	Q	I	All countries specified	England	Christmas 1712-17	12 January 1718	C.O. 390/5. 27	
Iron, wrought	"	E		British plantations in America specified	"	12 January	<i>Ibid.</i> 22	
Timber specified	Q V	I	All countries specified		"	24 January 1718	C.O. 390/8. H	
Hemp	Q	"	"		"	19 December 1721	C.O. 390/5. 42	
All goods specified	V	"	Spain	England	Michaelmas 1712-Lady Day 1714	18 August 1714	C.O. 290/8. E	
Materials and drugs for dyeing specified	Q	E	England	France	Christmas 1712-14	9 May 1715	C.O. 390/5. 37	
All goods specified	"	I	France (and Dunkirk)	England	Michaelmas 1712-13	10 November 1713	C.O. 390/8. A	

"	"	"	I E	England	Flanders	Christmas 1712-13	21 October 1714	C.O. 388/17. 78 (ii)
China raw silk	"	"	I	"	"	Christmas 1713-23	6 March 1725	T. 64/275. 172
Raw silk	"	"	"	Each country except China	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 173
Prohibited India goods specified	"	"	Re-exported	England	Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey and H.M. Plantations in America	Lady Day 1713-Christmas 1716	5 February 1717	C.O. 390/8. K
All goods	Q V	"	I	France	England	5 January 1714-61		<i>Accounts and Papers</i> (1787). xix. 425
"	"	"	E	England	France	"		<i>Ibid.</i> 426
Goods of English production	"	"	"	"	"	"		<i>Ibid.</i> 427
Goods of foreign origin	"	"	"	"	"	"		
All goods	V	"	"	"	Maryland, Virginia, Carolina	Christmas 1714-26	8 April 1731	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxi. 723
"	"	"	"	"	"	"		
Sugar	Q	"	I	Barbados, Jamaica, Leeward Islands	"	"	21 April 1731	T. 64/276B. 355
"	"	"	E	England	New England, New York and Pennsylvania	"	10 March 1730	T. 64/273. 22
All goods	V	"	"	"	Barbados, Jamaica and Leeward Islands	"	27 March 1731	<i>Ibid.</i> 24

Distinguishes  
goods exported  
by certificate  
and those manu-  
factured in  
England



Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Im- ported or Ex- ported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
All goods	V	E	England	Maryland, Vir- ginia and Caro- lina	Christmas 1714-26	8 April 1731	T. 64/273. 25	
"	"	"	"	Barbados, Ja- maica and Lee- ward Islands	"	21 April 1731	<i>Ibid.</i> 26	
"	"	"	"	New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Mary- land, Carolina	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 27	
"	"	"	"	New England, New York, Pennsylvania	"	4 April 1732	<i>Ibid.</i> 28	
"	"	"	"	Sugar colonies in America	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 29	
"	"	"	"	Africa	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 55	
"	"	"	"	"	10 years-Christ- mas 1724	30 March 1726	C.P. 390/7. 2	
Raw silk	Q	I E			Christmas 1714- Midsummer 1719	9 December 1719	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xix. 190	
Wool			Coastwise		Christmas 1714-19	10 October 1720	C.O. 390/8. C	
Tobacco	"	I		Scottish ports	29 September 1714-17	11 July 1718	C.O. 390/5. 13	Edinburgh Cus- tom House
Bark	"	E	Chepstow, Lan- caster, Bristol	Ireland	1714-16, 1763-16		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xviii. 568	Source of figures not given

Woollen manufac- tures specified	Q	V	"	England	All countries specified	Christmas 1714-15	March 1717	C.O. 390/8. D
All goods specified			I	Spanish Nether- lands	England		27 October 1714	C.O. 388/17. 78 (i)
Wines and spirits	Q		I		Plymouth, Looe, Fowey, Fal- mouth, Gweek, Penryn, Truro, Penzance, Scilly, St. Ives and Padstow	Christmas, 1715-20; 1730-5; 1740-5; 1760-6	16 August 1760	T. 64/274. 133
Sugar	"		E		All countries specified	Christmas 1715-22	14 March 1738	T. 64/276B. 364
Raw hide	"		I	Ireland	Outports specified	Christmas 1715-18	17 January 1718/19	J.H.C., xix. 122
Dyeing goods speci- fied	"		I			"	29 December 1719	C.O. 390/5. 24
Drugs specified	"		"			"	31 March 1720	T. 64/276B. 347
Woollen manufac- tures	V		"	London and out- ports specified	All countries specified	Christmas 1715-16		C.O. 390/7. 36
All commodities; bullion exported specified	"		"	All countries	England	1716-36 inc., speci- fied with 6-year totals and annual averages		T. 70/1205. A. 51
Whale-fins, train oil	Q		I	"		Christmas 1716-32 specified	30 April 1733	J.H.C., xxii. 132
Sugars	"		"	British planta- tions		Christmas 1716-30	24 March 1732	T. 64/276B. 356

No date or source  
Note on valua-  
tion of some  
commodities

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Lawns, cambrics	Q	I	France, Flanders, Holland		Christmas 1716-27	24 March 1729	T. 64/275. 164	
All goods	V	E		All countries specified	Christmas 1716-17	19 January 1719/20	C.O. 390/5. 10	Compares excess of each county
Foreign coin and bullion	Q	"		"	16 January 1717-15 March 1727/8	3 April 1728	T. 64/276B. 391	
Rice	"	I and re-exported to all countries specified	British plantations	Great Britain	Christmas 1717-Michaelmas 1724	22 March 1724/5	C.O. 390/5. 54	
Masts			Europe and plantations		Christmas 1717-22 specified	20 March 1728/9	C.O. 390/7. 35	
Turpentine			"		"	"	"	
Resin			"		"	"	"	
Pitch and tar	Q	I	"	Great Britain	"	"	"	
Timber specified	Q V	"	All countries specified		Christmas 1717-20		C.O. 390/8. G	
Silk, raw, thrown and wrought	Q	I E			Christmas 1717-18	23 November 1719	C.O. 390/5. 25	
Fish	"	"			Christmas 1718-84	21 May 1785	T. 64/276A. 313	
Fish specified	"	I			"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 312	

All goods	V	I E	New York		Christmas 1718-28		T. 70/1205. A. 48	Nothing to show where this comes from. No sig- nature or date
Woollen manufac- tures specified	Q V	E		Turkey	7 years to Christ- mas 1725	6 April 1727	C.O. 390/7. 9	
"	"	"		Streights	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 8	
"	"	"		Italy	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 7	
Tar and pitch	Q	I and re-ex- ported to all coun- tries singly	British Planta- tions		1718-24	24 February 1724/5	C.O. 390/5. 55	
Tobacco	"	I	Virginia	Bristol	1718-22		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xx. 104	
Calicoes	"	" E			Christmas 1718- Michaelmas 1719	14 December 1719	C.O. 390/5. 35	
Raw silk	"	"	Bengal, China, Turkey, Italy		7 years to Christ- mas 1726	27 March 1727	C.O. 390/7. 6	
Thrown silk	"	"	Italy		7 years to Christ- mas 1726 specified	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 5	
Snuff	"	"	England		5 years to Christ- mas 1724 specified	21 March 1725	<i>Ibid.</i> 4	
Brandy	"	I		London and out- ports	24 June 1719-23		T. 64/274. 118	
Tobacco	"	"	North Britain	Bristol	Michaelmas 1719-22		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xx. 104	
All goods specified	"	E I		Spain	Christmas 1719-22	30 July 1724	C.O. 390/5. 48	

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Mohair yarn and raw silk	Q	I	Leghorn and Mediterranean	Ireland	25 March 1720-51		T. 64/275. 176	
Manufactured silk	"	E		All countries specified	Christmas 1720-40	19 February 1741	<i>Ibid.</i> 175	
Raw silk	"	I	Turkey		"	27 January 1741	<i>Ibid.</i> 174	
Woollen manufactures	V	E		Turkey	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 150	
Woollen manufactures specified	Q	"		"	"	27 January 1742	<i>Ibid.</i> 151	
Hops	"	"	England	Ireland	Christmas 1720-30	24 March 1731	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxi. 863	
"	"	"		"	"	24 March 1732	T. 64/276B. 400A and B	
Brandy	"	I	France		"	2 May 1732	T. 64/274. 123	
Goods, merchandise, bullion	V	E	London, by East India Co.	All countries	Christmas 1720-7	April 1730	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxi. 555	
Straw hats	Q	I	England		5 years to Christmas 1725 specified	22 March 1725	C.O. 390/7. 3	N.B.—No straw hats exported in these years
All goods specified	"	E I		New England	Christmas 1720-3	8 Feb. 1724-5	C.O. 390/5. 50	
"	V Q	"		New York	"	18 July 1724	<i>Ibid.</i> 51	

Tobacco	Q	I and re-exported	Ports	Christmas 1721-31		T. 64/276B. 327
Rice	"	I E	All countries specified	Christmas 1721-8	12 May 1730	<i>Ibid.</i> 319
Barley, malt, oatmeal, rye, wheat	"	E	England	Christmas 1721-7 specified	15 August 1728	H. Atton and H. Holland, <i>The King's Customs</i> , p. 80
Skins	Q V	I	Hudson Bay	1721-3	15 May 1725	C.O. 390/5. 52
Goods, merchandise	V	"	All countries, by East India Co.	Christmas 1722-9	April 1730	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxi. 555
Sugar	Q	E		"	10 March 1731	T. 64/276B. 354
"	"	I	Barbadoes, Jamaica, Leeward Islands	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 353
Gold and silver	"	E	Outports	Christmas 1722-7	12 April 1728	<i>Ibid.</i> 393
"	"	"	All countries specified	"	10 April 1728	<i>Ibid.</i> 392
Naval stores	"	I	Great Britain	"	3 March 1728/9	C.O. 390/7. 35
Masts	"	"	Europe (excluding Ireland and Guernsey) plantations	Christmas 1722-7 specified	20 March 1729	"
Turpentine	"	"	"	"	"	"

With annual midsummer prizes at Bear Quay

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Resin			Europe and plantations		Christmas 1722-7 specified	20 March 1728/9.	C.O. 390/7. 35	
Pitch and tar			"	Great Britain	"	"	"	
Rice	Q	I	Carolina	America	Christmas 1723-37	March 1739	T. 64/276B. 323	
Woollen manufactures specified	"	E		Russia	1723-9	24 March 1731	T. 64/275. 148	
"	"	"	England	Denmark and Norway	Christmas 1723-6	25 November 1727	C.O. 390/5. 58	
Linens	"	I	Ireland	England	Christmas 1724-40 specified	1744	<i>Commons' Committées,</i> ii. 69	
"	"	"	"	"	Christmas 1724-36	14 March 1738	T. 64/275. 179	
British linens	"	E	"	All countries specified	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 180	
Irish linens	"	Re-exported			"	27 March 1738	<i>Ibid.</i> 181	
All goods	V	E I	England	Germany	Christmas 1724-36	21 March 1738	T. 64/273. 46	
Woollen manufactures specified	"	E		Russia	Christmas 1724-34	14 April 1736	T. 64/275. 149	
Tar	Q	I	Plantations	England	29 September 1724-15 April 1725	15 April 1725	C.O. 390/5. 56	
Raw and thrown silk	"	"	All countries specified	"	Christmas 1726-5 January 1757		T. 70/1205. A. 59	

According to Re-  
turns (when  
made) of the  
several commo-  
dore sent  
thither annually  
for the protec-  
tion and regula-  
tion of the fish-  
ery

Wrought silk, silk mixed with worsted, with inkle, with gro- gram	"	E	England	All countries severally	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 61
Newfoundland fish- ery, account of. No. of ships their burthen, no. of men, no. of pas- sengers, no. of fishing boats, catches, market- ing, prices of fish, no. of stages, no. of families set- tled, no. of in- habitants, births and deaths	"	"	"	"	1726-46 specified	inc.	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 45
Sugar	Q	I E	All countries specified	All countries	Christmas 1726-33	11 April 1735	T. 64/276B. 360
Sugar	"	"	Plantations	All countries	Christmas 1726-31	20 February 1732	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxii. 50
Cambrics	"	I	Dunkirk	London	Christmas 1726-9	9 March 1730	T. 64/275. 165
Brandy	"	"	"	"	"	"	T. 64/274. 120
Oak bark or tan- ner's bark	Q V	E	"	Ireland	Christmas 1727-5 January 1768	30 June 1768	T. 64/276A. 215
Wrought silk	Q	I	All countries specified except East India	"	Christmas 1727-5 January 1758	"	T. 70/1205. A. 60
Sugar	"	"	British sugar colonies	"	Christmas 1727-51	24 March 1753	T. 64/276B. 378



Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Muscovado sugar of British produce	Q	E			Christmas 1727-51	24 March 1753	T. 64/276B. 377	
Sugar	"	I E	British colonies		Christmas 1727-46	Received 18 February 1747/8	T. 70/1205. A. 19	
Cambrics	"	I			Christmas 1727-45		T. 64/275. 167	
All goods	V	I E	England and Germany		Christmas 1727-42 specified	10 March 1743	T. 70/1205. A. 4	
Rum	Q	I	British islands		Christmas 1727-37	30 April 1739	T. 64/274. 127	
Raw sugar	"	E	England	All countries specified	1727-31 specified	20 February 1732	J.H.C., xxii. 49	
Refined sugar	"	"	"	"	"	"	Ibid. 48	
"	"	"	"	"	1727-31	20 February 1733	T. 64/276B. 358	
Raw sugar	"	"	"	"	"	"	Ibid. 359	
Cambrics	"	I	Dunkirk	London	Christmas 1727-30	12 April 1732	J.H.C., xxi. 887	
Corn, etc.	"	E	Outports specified		Christmas 1727-8	5 May 1729	T. 64/274. 58	
Sugar	"	"		Ireland, plantations, other countries	Christmas 1728-42	20 December 1743	T. 64/276B. 369	
Wrought iron and iron in bars	"	"		Plantations	Christmas 1728-35	24 March 1737	T. 64/276A. 250	

"	"	"	"	All countries specified except plantations	"	"	Ibid. 251
Coal	"	"	"	All countries specified	"	6 May 1737	Ibid. 245
Spanish wood	"	I	"	Africa	Christmas 1729-43	28 February 1745	T. 64/275: 152
All goods	V	E	"	All countries specified	Christmas 1729-42 specified	1 December 1744	T. 70/1205. A. 10
Sugar	Q	"	"	Sweden and Russia	Christmas 1729-36	14 March 1737	T. 64/276B. 362
All goods specified	"	"	"	London	1729-35	6 April 1737	T. 64/273. 45
Brandy	"	I	"	Outports specified	Christmas 1729-30	17 March 1731	T. 64/274. 121
"	"	"	"		"	"	Ibid. 122
Indigo	"	"	"	Foreign parts south of Cape Finisterre	Christmas 1730-7	22 March 1739	T. 64/276B. 348
Rice	"	E	"	Ports to the northward of Cape Finisterre	"		Ibid. 322A and B
Sugar	"	I	"	London and outports specified	Christmas 1731-51	10 March 1753	Ibid. 375
Rice	"	E	"	"	Christmas 1731-9 specified	17 December 1746	T. 70/1205. A. 16
Spirits and brandies	"	I	"	"	Christmas 1731-2	3 March 1732	J.H.C., xxii. 71
Spirits	"	"	"	"	"	3 March 1733	T. 64/274. 124

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Wine	Q	I		Rochester	Christmas 1732-52	3 April 1753	T. 64/274. 132	
Oil, wines, fruits, soap	"	"	Spain		Christmas 1732-9	16 February 1747	<i>Ibid.</i> 130	
Oil, wine, fruits	"	"	Countries specified		"	16 February 1741	<i>Ibid.</i> 128	
British refined sugar	"	E			Christmas 1733-51	24 March 1753	T. 64/276B. 376	
Borax and camphor	"	I E			Christmas 1733-42 specified	13 December 1743	T. 70/1205. A. 9	
Gold and silver lace and fringe	"	E			Christmas 1733-40	26 February 1742	T. 64/276B. 401	
Coals and merchandise	"	I	All countries	Yarmouth	Michaelmas 1734-44 specified		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxv. 344	Given by Thos. Wetherill
Wool	"		Coastwise		Christmas 1734-41	29 April 1742	T. 64/278.	
Corn	"	E	Ports		Christmas 1734-Midsummer 1740		T. 64/277.	See also for 1734-5 Postlethwayte, <i>Commercial Dictionary</i> , s.v. Corn
Linen goods made of Irish yarn	Q V	E or sold for export)	England	All parts	[Christmas] 1735-50		<i>Commons' Committees</i> , ii. 290	
All goods	V	I E	England	Hudson's Bay	Christmas 1735-46 specified		<i>Ibid.</i> 283	
Linen (Germany broad and narrow)	Q	I	Holland	England	Christmas 1735-1742 specified	10 March 1743	T. 70/1205. A. 5	

Flax	"	"	"	"	Christmas 1735-42 specified	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 6
Sugar	"	E	Barbados, Leeward Islands	"	Christmas 1735-42 ; Christmas 1734-42	"	11 January 1744	T. 64/276B. 370
All commodities (woollen and British manufactures and foreign commodities exported specified also linens imported)	V	I E	Germany	England	Christmas 1735-Christmas 1742	"	9 April 1744	T. 70/1205. A. 7
Lawns	Q	I	All countries specified	"	1735-41	"	"	T. 64/275. 182
Cambrics	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 166
Rum	"	"	British islands	"	Midsummer 1735-8	"	30 April 1739	T. 64/274. 126
Wrought iron and iron in bars	"	E	"	Plantations specified	Christmas 1735-6	"	14 February 1738	T. 64/276A. 252
Tobacco	"	"	Outports	France	1736-44	"	"	T. 70/1205. A. 55
"	"	"	London and outports	"	Christmas 1736-44	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 54
Wool	"	"	Coastwise	"	Christmas 1736-43	"	23 February 1745	T. 64/279.
Sugar	"	I	"	"	"	"	"	T. 64/276B. 372
Salt	"	"	All countries specified	England	Christmas 1736-43 specified	"	29 August 1744	T. 70/1205. A. 12

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Sugar	Q	I	St. Christopher's	London and out-ports	Christmas 1736-7	22 March 1739	T. 64/276B. 367	
Raw sugar	"	E		All countries specified	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 365	
Raw and refined sugar	"	"		"	"	14 March 1738	<i>Ibid.</i> 363	
Refined sugar	"	"		"	"	22 March 1739	<i>Ibid.</i> 366	
Rum	"	I	All countries specified	London	1 July-16 August 1736		T. 64/274. 119	
"	"	"		"	1 July-13 August 1736		<i>Ibid.</i> 125	
Indigo	"	"	America, Europe and Prize		Christmas 1737-47	29 March 1748	T. 70/1205. A. 20	
Foreign linens, specified	"	Re-exported		Plantations in America	"	4 April 1749	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 22	
All goods	V	E	England	British sugar colonies	Christmas 1738-48	15 April 1751	Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29, 1903	
Trading goods	"	"	"	Hudson's Bay	Michaelmas 1738-48 specified		<i>Commons' Committees</i> , ii. 262	Figures supplied by Company
All goods	Q V	I	"	"	"		<i>Ibid.</i> 263-6	"
Wheat, rye, barley, flour, oatmeal	Q	E	England, London and outports		Christmas 1738-46		T. 70/1205. A. 56	

All goods	V	I	Africa		Christmas 1738-43	21 February 1744/5	T. 70/1205. A. 14
Sugar	Q	"	All countries specified		"		T. 64/276B. 374
"	"	E		All countries specified	"	29 January 1745	<i>Ibid.</i> 373
Coarse foreign linens	"	I	All parts	England	1738-9		<i>Commons'</i> <i>Committees,</i> ii. 301
Ashes, copper, drugs, iron, steel, tin plates, wax and glass speci- fied	"	"	European coun- tries, Africa and plantations	England	Christmas 1738- Christmas 1739	23 February 1742-3	T. 70/1205. A.
All goods	V	E I	England	Africa	Christmas 1739-73	20 February 1775	T. 64/273. 57
"	"	"	"	West Indies	Christmas 1739-62	17 February 1775	<i>Ibid.</i> 39
Sugar	Q	E	British colonies	Ports in Europe south of Cape Finisterre	1739-24 March 1753	24 March 1753	T. 64/276B. 379
All goods specified	V	E I	England	Sweden	1739-48	11 January 1749	T. 64/273. 47
Wine	Q	I	All countries	England	Christmas 1739-46	21 January 1747/8	<i>J.H.C.,</i> xxv. 483
Oil, wine, fruits	"	"	Countries speci- fied		Christmas 1739-45	16 February 1747	T. 64/274. 129
Wool	"	"	Coastwise		Christmas 1739-43	14 March 1744/5	T. 64/280.

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Ashes, copper, drugs, iron and steel, tin plates, wax and glass	Q	I	All countries specified	England	Christmas 1739-Christmas 1740		T. 70/1205. A. 52	No source or date.
Ashes, copper, drugs, iron and steel, tin plates, wax and glass specified	"	"	European countries, Africa and plantations	"	"	25 February 1742/3	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 2	
British and Irish linens	"	E	England	British colonies and plantations	Christmas 1740-53	9 January 1755	T. 64/275. 184	
Cambries	"	I			Christmas 1740-7	27 October 1757	<i>Ibid.</i> 168	
Woollen manufactures	V	E	England, London and outports specified		Christmas 1740-3 specified	21 February 1744/5	T. 70/1205. A. 13	
Linens specified	Q	I	All countries	England	Christmas 1740-Christmas 1742 specified	16 March 1743/4	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 3	
Brute hair	"	"			Christmas 1741-5 January 1757	14 July 1757	T. 64/276B. 403	
Woollen manufactures	Q V	E		Turkey	1741-52	4 April 1753	T. 64/275. 154	
Rum	Q	I	Sugar colonies		Christmas 1741-51	24 March 1753	T. 64/274. 131	
All goods specified	Q V	"	Georgia		Christmas 1741-3		T. 70/1205. A. 53	

Spirits	Q	I			Christmas 1742-71	20 January 1773	T. 64/274. 135
British and Irish linens	"	E	England	All parts	Lady Day 1743-Christmas 1771 specified	8 May 1773	<i>Commons' Committees</i> , iii. 133
Whale fins	"	I E	All countries		Christmas 1743-53	23 January 1755	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxvii. 154
Mohair yarn and raw silk	"	I	Turkey		Christmas 1743-52	21 February 1753	T. 64/275. 177
East country narrow linen, Osna-brucks and Muscovy narrow linen	"	"			Christmas 1743-51		T. 64/275. 183
Cotton	"	"	All countries	England	1743-49		M. Postlethwayte, <i>Commercial Dictionary</i> , s.v. 'Linen'
Linen cloth, British and Irish distinguished, sizes specified	"	E	England	All countries	Lady Day 1743-Lady Day 1748 specified	4 April 1749	T. 70/1205. A. 23
All goods	V	I E	Africa		Christmas 1743-6 specified	16 February 1747/8	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 17
Oil, cotton, goats' wool, drugs, carpets	Q	I	Italy		1744-52	19 March 1753	T. 64/276B. 396. 7
Woollen manufactures specified	"	E		Turkey	"	21 February 1753	T. 64/275. 153



Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Hard or Castile soap	Q	I	All countries specified	American plantations	Christmas 1744-9 ; Christmas 1764-2	9 May 1770	T. 64/276A. 211	
"	"	E			Christmas 1744-9 ; Christmas 1764-6		<i>Ibid.</i> 212	
Cotton	"	I	London	All parts	1745-9		<i>Commons' Committees,</i> ii. 300	
Oak bark or tanner's bark	Q V	E		Ireland	Christmas 1746-5 January 1767	10 February 1768	T. 64/276A. 214	
Tanner's bark	V	E		All countries specified	Christmas 1746-5 January 1757	20 February 1758	<i>Ibid.</i> 213	
Cattle	Q	I	Isle of Man		"	10 February 1758	T. 64/274. 107	
British plantations brown sugar	"	I E	All countries specified		Christmas 1747-5 January 1758	3 May 1758	T. 64/276B. 385	
All goods	V	E I		Jamaica	Christmas 1747-51	13 December 1752	T. 70/1205. A. 28	
British and Irish coarse linens	Q	E	Scottish ports specified	All countries	10 November 1747- 12 December 1748	5 January 1748/9	<i>J.H.C.,</i> xxv. 749	From Custom House, Edinburgh
Indigo	"	I	All countries specified	England	Christmas 1748-5 January 1757	15 November 1757	T. 70/1205. A. 40	
All goods specified	"	E	England	Jamaica	Christmas 1748-55	6 May 1774	T. 64/273. 35	Laid before House of Lords
Foreign linens	"	I	All countries specified		Christmas 1748-53	9 January 1755	T. 64/275. 185	

Malt, barley, oat-meal, rye, wheat	"	E	Blakeney, Clay, Yarmouth, Lynn and Wells		Christmas 1748-50		T. 64/274. 59	
All goods	V	E	England	British sugar islands specified	1749-92 (5-yearly)		<i>Ibid.</i>	The earlier years from Whitworth
"	"	I	British sugar islands specified	England			C.O. 390/5.	"
Coculus indicus or india <sup>1</sup>	Q	I			Christmas 1749-59	10 January 1760	T. 64/276B. 349	
Madder, crap, fat • mull <sup>2</sup>	"	"	Holland	England	Christmas 1749-5 January 1757		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxviii. 108	
• Cambrics	"	E		Ireland and British plantations in America	Christmas 1749-5 January 1757	27 October 1757	T. 64/275. 169	
"	"	I			"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 170	
Cordivant skin	"	"			"	4 April 1758	T. 64/276A. 226	
Pig and bar iron	"	"	American colonies		Christmas 1749-56	18 February 1757	<i>Ibid.</i> 253	
Raw flax	"	"	All countries specified		Christmas 1749-53	23 January 1755	<i>Ibid.</i> 255	
Pearl and pot ashes	"	"	"		Christmas 1749-52	15 January 1754	T. 70/1205. A. 57	
All goods specified	Q V	E		Georgia	Christmas 1749-51 specified	30 June 1752	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 27	
All commodities and distinguishing English and foreign goods	"	"	England	Nova Scotia	Christmas 1749-Christmas 1751 specified	13 February 1753	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 32	

<sup>1</sup> A word is missing, but what word hardly signifies, for it is a 'nil return.'

<sup>2</sup> Mull, fat mull and fat madder are names for the lowest of the four qualities of 'Dutch' madder.

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Tallow	Q	I E	England		Christmas 1750- Michaelmas 1766	12 February 1783	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxxi. 105	No figures
Gum, senega or arabic	"	I	H.M. Dominions in Africa		1 January 1750-5		<i>T. 64/276B.</i> 345	
All goods specified	V	"	Jamaica		1750-1	Received 23 January 1753	<i>T. 70/1205.</i> A. 29	
Foreign linens specified	Q	"	All parts	England	Christmas 1751-71 specified	30 April 1773	<i>Commons' Committees</i> , iii. 119	
"	"	E	"	"	"	4 May 1773	<i>Ibid.</i> 125	
Raw linen yarn	"	I	All countries	"	Christmas 1751-71	7 May 1773	<i>Ibid.</i> 131	
Pot ash and pearl ash	"	"	American plantations		Christmas 1751-4		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxvii. 234	
Linen yarn specified	"	"	All countries	England	Christmas 1751- Christmas 1753		<i>T. 70/1205.</i> A. 39	Recd. with Mr. Wood's letter dated 13 December 1754
Whalefins, oil and blubber	"	"	Greenland		Christmas 1751-3	Recd. 13 December 1754	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 38	
Whalefins	"	I E	All countries England	England All countries	Christmas 1751- Christmas 1753 specified		<i>Ibid.</i> A. 37	Recd. with Mr. Wood's letter of 13 December 1754
Flax	"	I	All countries	England	Christmas 1751- Christmas 1753		<i>Ibid.</i> A. 36	

Linen yarn specified	"	"	"	"	Christmas 1751-1753 specified	31 December 1754	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 35
Silk, raw and thrown	"	I and re-exported	All countries specified England	England All countries specified	"	8 November 1754	<i>Ibid.</i> A. 34
Muscovado sugars	"	I	British sugar colonies		Christmas 1751-2	9 April 1753	T. 64/276B. 384
Sugar	"	Re-imported	Holland		"	28 March 1753	<i>Ibid.</i> 380
	"	E		Ireland	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 381
Wool, woollen or bay yarn, and worsted yarn	"	I	Ireland		Christmas 1752-73	20 March 1775	T. 64/275. 158
Tin	"	E			Christmas 1752-72	24 April 1773	T. 64/276A. 224
Ticks or tickings	"	I E	All parts	England	Christmas 1752-71 specified	7 May 1773	<i>Commons' Committees</i> , iii. 132
Whale fins and whale oil	"	I	Holland		Christmas 1752-66	6 February 1767	T. 64/276A. 305
Verdigris	"	I E	South of France		Christmas 1752-9		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxviii. 1040
Tin	"	E	Outports	Coastwise	1753-72	May 1773	T. 64/276A. 222
Lumber	"	"	Halifax (Nova Scotia)	All countries	11 October 1753-30 June 1755 specified		T. 70/1205. A. 46

Not direct from Custom House

No date or source

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Fish	Q	E	Halifax (Nova Scotia)	All countries	October 1753-June 1755 specified		T. 70/1205. A. 47	No date or source
Wines	"	I	All countries specified		Christmas 1754-84	8 November 1785	T. 64/274. 138	
Salt	"	"	Each British North American colony		5 January 1755-8 September 1767	11 April 1775	T. 64/276A. 221	
All goods specified	V	E	England	Portugal	1756-65		C.O. 390/5.	
Grain, meal, specified	Q	I	All countries specified	Ports specified	Michaelmas 1756-7	17 December 1757	T. 64/274. 85	
Oil and whale fins	"	"	Davis Straits and Greenland Seas		1757. 1762, 1763, 1766, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783	1 December 1757, 26 November 1762, 16 November 1763, no date, 14 November 1768, January 1770, November 1770, No date, November 1772, no date, October 1775, 25 November 1777, November 1776, 28 November 1778, 26 November 1779, 31 October	T. 64/276A. 286-304	

Raw hides and raw calf skins	"	Each country		Christmas 1757-67 specified	1780, Decem- ber 1781, December 1782, 14 No- vember 1783	<i>Ibid.</i> 227
Tanned leather	"	E	All countries specified	Christmas 1757-67	31 October 1768	<i>Ibid.</i> 238
Gum senega	"	I E		Christmas 1757-64	22 November 1771	T. 64/276B. 341
Grain, meal	"	I	Countries speci- fied	Michaelmas 1757-8	8 December 1758	T. 64/274. 86
Timber specified	V	"	Denmark, Nor- way and East Country	Christmas 1757-8		T. 70/1205. A. 58
Corn, meal, malt, flour, bread, bis- cuit, starch	Q	E	Countries speci- fied	30 November 1757- 10 October 1758	8 December 1758	T. 64/274. 61
Whale fins and whale oil	"	I	North America	Christmas 1758-66	6 February 1767	T. 64/276A. 306
All goods		E I	Germany, Hol- land	Christmas, 1758-65	17 June 1767	T. 64/273. 49
Cattle	Q	I	England	1 May 1759-10 October 1766		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxxi. 37
"	"	"	Ireland		5 December 1766	T. 64/274. 108
Chip and straw hats	"	"	Ireland	Christmas 1759-66	7 April 1767	T. 64/276B. 402

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Foreign hemp and flax	Q	I			Christmas 1759-66	17 June 1767	T. 64/276A. 258	
Foreign and linen yarn	Q V	"			"	21 May 1767	T. 64/275. 187	
All goods	V	E I	England	Germany, Holland	1759-65	19 May 1767	T. 64/273. 48	
Linen cloth	Q	I	All countries specified		Christmas 1759-65	24 November 1766	T. 64/275. 186	
British cordage	"	E		All countries specified	Christmas 1759-64	14 March 1766	T. 64/276A. 256	
Corn	"	"	Ports specified	Countries specified	29 December 1759-5 January 1760	4 February 1760	T. 64/274. 64	
"	"	"	"	"	8-15 December 1759	8 January 1760	<i>Ibid.</i> 63	
Glass	"	I	France		1760-79	14 April 1780	T. 64/276A. 208	
Small plate glasses	"	"	Holland, Germany		"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 207	
Verdigris	"	I	All countries chiefly France	England	Christmas 1760-Christmas 1778 specified		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxxviii. 335 T. 64/276B. 415	Source not given
Iron, hemp and wool	"	I	All countries specified	All countries	Christmas 1760-76	26 January 1778	T. 64/276A. 262	
Tobacco	"	I E	British Plantations		"	"	T. 64/276B. 333	

"	"	"	"	England	Christmas 1760-5 January 1774	3 February 1775	<i>Ibid.</i> 330	
Silk, raw and thrown specified	"	I	All countries	England	5 January 1760- 5 January 1773 specified	16 March 1773 1773	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxxiv. 242	Duties also given
Raw and thrown silk	"	"	"	"	5 January 1760- 5 January 1773	"	"	
Foreign salt	"	"	All countries specified	"	5 January 1760-73	4 March 1773	T. 64/276A. 220	
Foreign gold and silver	"	E	Harwich	"	7-14 July 1760		T. 64/276B.	
"	"	"	"	"	11-18 August 1760		T. 64/276B.	
Goods of foreign origin, specified	Q V	E	Great Britain	Portugal	5 January 1761-87	6 February 1787	<i>Accounts and Papers</i> (1787) xix. 429	
"	"	I	Portugal	Great Britain	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 430	
Goods of home pro- duction	"	E	Great Britain	Portugal	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 431	
All goods	"	I	France	Great Britain	"		<i>Ibid.</i> 425	
Goods of English production	"	E	Great Britain	France	"		<i>Ibid.</i> 426	
Goods of foreign origin	"	"	"	"	"		<i>Ibid.</i> 427	
British and Irish cottons, linens printed or stained	Q	"	England	[All parts]	Christmas 1761-71 specified	7 May 1773	<i>Commons' Committees</i> , iii. 131	
Drugs specified	"	I E	"	"	Christmas 1761-8	16 March 1769	T. 64/276B. 350	



Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
All goods	V	I E	England	All countries specified	Christmas 1761-6	8 February 1768	T. 64/273. 1	
China ware	Q	E			"	12 February 1767	T. 64/276B. 404	
All goods	V	E I	England	West Indies, each island	Christmas 1762-73	31 January 1775	T. 64/273. 38	
Refined and muscovado sugar	Q	E		Foreign ports, North American colonies and West India islands	"	15 February 1775	T. 64/276B. 390	
Beer.	"	"	England	Ireland	Christmas 1762-72	3 September 1773	<i>Ibid.</i> 399	
All goods specified	"	I E	Russia	England	Christmas 1762-72 specified	28 January 1774	Bodleian Library MS. North B. 61	
"	"	I	Germany	England	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> MS. North B. 62	
"	"	"	Sweden	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> MS. North B. 63	
"	"	"	Flanders	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> MS. North B. 64	
"	"	"	Denmark, Norway	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> MS. North B. 65	
"	"	"	East Country	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> MS. North B. 66	

"	"	Holland	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> , MS. North B. 67
"	"	Dominica	"	Christmas 1762-70	7 November 1771	T. 64/273. 32	
"	E I	England	East and West Florida	Christmas 1762-9	11 May 1770	<i>Ibid.</i> 31	
Tobacco	E	Colonies specified		"	22 August 1770	T. 64/276B. 329 <i>Ibid.</i> 328	
"	I			"	"		
Rum	E	Great Britain, ports specified	Ireland, ports specified	1 January 1762-1767		Bodleian Library, MS. North A. 9	Custom House accounts
"	I	All countries specified		Christmas 1763-83	2 August 1784	T. 64/276 A.	
Spermaceti oil and spermaceti whale fins	"						
Gum senega and slaves	E	H.M. Dominions in Africa		1 January 1763-77	12 February 1783	T. 64/276B. 346	
Logwood	I			5 January 1763-77	10 February 1783	T. 64/276B. 398	
Cotton	E	Tobago		1 January 1763-77	12 February 1783	T. 64/275. 145	
Wines	"		Europe	Christmas 1763-Michaelmas 1775	16 January 1776	T. 64/274. 136	
Corn, etc.	"		Sugar colonies	Christmas 1763-73	27 February 1775	<i>Ibid.</i> 77	
Wrought leather	"			Christmas 1763-Michaelmas 1773	12 February 1774	<i>Ibid.</i> 241	
Seal skins	"			"	"	T. 64/276A. 231	

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Staves	Q	I	Canada	Port of London	Christmas 1763-70	27 April 1771	T. 64/26A. 259	
Foreign or Hambro staves	"	"		"	"	April 1771	<i>Ibid.</i> 260	
Raw hides, raw calf skins and seal skins	"	"	Ireland, America		Christmas 1763-8	12 February 1774	<i>Ibid.</i> 232	
Wool	"	"	Ireland	All ports in England	1 January 1763-1 January 1766		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxxi. 105	
"	"	"	"	England, ports specified	1 January 1763-6	20 January 1767	T. 64/275. 155	
"	"	E	Scottish ports		"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 157	Edinburgh
Oak bark	"	"	England	Ireland	Christmas 1764-71	11 March 1772	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxxiii. 617	
Tanned leather	"	"	"	All countries	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 618	
Manufactured leather	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	
Oak bark	"	I	Carolina, New England, Virginia and Maryland	England	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 617	
Bark	"	E	England	All countries	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 617	
Manufactured leather	"	"	"	"	"	"	T. 64/276A. 240	
Tanned leather	"	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 239	

Oak bark	"	E				"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 217
Bark	"	E				"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 216
British soap	"	"				Christmas 1764-9	8 May 1770	<i>Ibid.</i> 210
Furs	"	"	Canada			1764-7	12 February 1783	<i>Ibid.</i> 235
Train oil and whale fins	"	I	North America			Lady Day 1764-Christmas 1766		<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxxi. 251
"	"	"	"			19 April 1764-5 January 1766		"
Salted beef, pork, fish, wheat flour, biscuit and pease	"	E	London and out-ports	Foreign countries, North America, British West Indies		1 January 1765-84	6 April 1784	T. 64/274. 105
Corn, etc.	"	I				Christmas 1765-10 October 1771	31 January 1772	T. 64/274. 90
Gum senega	"	I				1765-71	12 November 1771	T. 64/276B. 340
British and Irish linens	"	E				Christmas 1765-70	12 April 1771	T. 64/275. 191
Foreign linens specified	"	"				5 January 1765-70	11 May 1770	<i>Ibid.</i> 190
Foreign printed and painted linens specified	"	"				"	2 May 1770	<i>Ibid.</i> 189
Culm	"	"	Ports specified	All countries specified		Christmas 1765-70	12 April 1771	T. 64/276A. 248

Cf. 105 and 106, Nos. 1 and 2, Foreign and British goods exported

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Whale fins	Q	I	Holland		Christmas 1765-Michaelmas 1767	8 February 1768	T. 64/276A. 308	
Whale fins and whale oil	"	"	America		"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 307	
Rice	"	E	North and South Carolina, Georgia	South of South Carolina and Georgia	1-Michaelmas 1765	17 February 1766	T. 64/276B. 324	
Scale boards	"	I			Christmas 1766-5 January 1773	16 June 1773	<i>Ibid.</i> 406	
English manufactures and foreign merchandise	V	E	London and out-ports	Germany, Ireland	Christmas 1765-6		<i>Commons' Committees,</i> iii. 119	
All goods specified	Q	"	England	Jamaica	Christmas 1766-73	6 May 1774	T. 64/273. 36	Laid before House of Lords
Painted or stained paper	"	"			Christmas 1766-72	16 June 1773	T. 64/276B. 407	
Raw sugar	"	I			Christmas 1766-71	31 March 1772	<i>Ibid.</i> 388. 9	
Osnaburck linens	"	"			"	5 February 1773	T. 64/275. 193	
Cordage	"	E		All countries specified	5 July 1766-Christmas 1770	28 November 1771	T. 64/276A. 261	
Salted beef, pork, bacon, butter	"	I	Ireland		10 October 1766-8	28 November 1768	T. 64/274. 97	
Wheat, etc.	"	"			16 December 1766-31 March 1767 (weekly totals)	28 April 1767	<i>Ibid.</i> 87	

1 From the opening of the trade by Acts of Parliament of 1764 and 1765.

Corn, etc.	"	E		Countries specified.	22 February-26 August 1766	8 November 1766	<i>Ibid.</i> 65
Cotton wool	"	"			Christmas 1767-77	9 February 1779	T. 64/275.
"	"	I	British colonies specified		"	"	<i>Ibid.</i>
Cotton wool of foreign growth	"	"	Countries specified		"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 143
Corn, etc.	"	"	North America		5 January 1767-5 January 1774	17 February 1775	T. 64/274. 93
•	"	E		West Indies	16 November 1767-10 October 1772	5 December 1772	<i>Ibid.</i> 74
Wheat	"	E		Portugal	5 January 1767-71	6 November 1771	T. 64/273. 50
All goods	"	E I					
"	V	I	All countries specified	England	Christmas 1767-9	11 April 1770	<i>Ibid.</i> 2
"	"	"	"	"	"	8 March 1775	<i>Ibid.</i> 3
Rum	Q	E	Great Britain, ports specified	Ireland, ports specified	1 January 1767-10 October 1768		Bodleian Library, North A. 10
Wheat, etc.	"	I	Europe and Africa, under countries		5 January-10 October 1767	14 January 1768	T. 64/274. 89
Wheat, flour, specified	"	"	American colonies, named		"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 88
Rice, sago, powder and vermicelli	"	I E			4 May-30 November 1767	11 December 1767	T. 64/276b. 325

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Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Raw hides, raw calf skins and sealskins	Q	I	Ireland, America		Christmas 1768-73	12 February 1774	T. 64/276A. 233	
All goods	V	E	London and out-ports specified	Africa	Christmas 1768-72	21 February 1774	T. 64/273. 56	
Cattle	Q	I	Ireland		1 January 1768-10 October 1772	8 December 1772	T. 64/274. 109	
Cheese	"	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 103	
	"	E	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 102	
Foreign crapes and tiffanies	"	I	"	"	5 January 1768-71	28 March 1771	T. 64/275. 178	
Whale fins or whalebone and train oil	"	I	All countries specified		1 January 1768-10 October 1770	4 December 1770	T. 64/276A. 309	
Ɔorn, etc.	"	E	"	All countries specified	October 1768-10 October 1769	8 January 1770	T. 64/274. 70	
Salted beef, pork, bacon, butter	"	I	British dominions in America		5 January-10 October 1768	28 November 1768	<i>Ibid.</i> 98	
Corn, etc.	"	E	"	All countries specified	"	14 November 1768	<i>Ibid.</i> 69	
Tobacco	"	"	"	Alderney, Guernsey, Jersey and Isle of Man	1769-88	26 June 1789	T. 64/276B. 339	
Corn	"	I	All countries specified	"	Christmas 1769-78	5 March 1779	T. 64/274. 95	

Saltpetre	"	E I				Christmas 1769-74	28 September 1775	T. 64/276B. 331
Tobacco	Q V	E		All countries specified		Christmas 1769-73	20 February 1775	"
"	"	I	British planta- tions in Amer- ica			"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 332
Raw hides	Q	E	England	All countries		5 July 1769-Christ- mas 1771	11 March 1772	<i>J.H.C.</i> , xxxiii. 615
"	"	I		England		5 July 1769-71	"	T. 64/276A. 230
Foreign goods, produce	"	E	Great Britain and Ireland	Ports of North America and Bahamas, Ber- mudas, New- foundland, specified		5 January 1769-70		Bodleian Li- brary, MS. North C. 83
Rum	"	"	Great Britain, ports specified	Ireland, ports specified		10 October 1769-70	27 March 1772	<i>Ibid.</i> , MS. North A. 11
Goods produce, manufactures, specified	"	"	Great Britain and Ireland	Ports of North America, Is- lands of New- foundland, Ba- hama and Ber- mudas, specified		5 January 1769-70		<i>Ibid.</i> , MS. North C. 83
Salted beef, pork, bacon, butter	"	I	Ireland and America			1 January 1769-10 October 1770	6 December 1770	T. 64/274. 99
Corn, etc.	"	E		All countries specified		10 October 1769- 10 October 1770	15 November 1770	<i>Ibid.</i> 271
Tallow	"	I E				1 January 1769-10 October 1770	10 December 1770	T. 64/276B. 405

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Commodities.	Value Quantities.	Im- ported or Ex- ported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Foreign linens specified	Q	I			Christmas 1769-70	12 April 1771	T. 64/275. 192	
Manufactured glass	"	"	All countries specified		5 January 1770-85	3 December 1785	T. 64/276A. 209	
Seville and other olive (not salad) oils	"	"			Christmas 1770-3	13 March 1775	T. 64/276B. 413	
Corn, etc.	"	E		Countries speci- fied	10 October 1770- 10 October 1771	21 January 1772	T. 64/274. 72	
Salted beef, pork, bacon, butter, tallow, hog's lard, grease, cattle	"	I	Ireland		10 October 1770- 1771	7 February 1772	<i>Ibid.</i> 100	
Corn, etc.	"	E		All countries specified	10 October 1771- 10 October 1772	26 November 1772	<i>Ibid.</i> 73	Plus East Indies Co. exports
Gum senega and gum arabic	"	"		Gibraltar and Minorca	"	8 December 1772	<i>Ibid.</i> 75	
Hemp rough, sail- cloth, cordage, tar and pitch	V	I		Ireland	14 June 1771-20 January 1772	20 January 1772	T. 64/276B. 342	
"	Q	"			1 January 1772-82	22 January 1783	T. 64/276A. 265	
Oak, elm, beech and fir timber	"	"	All countries specified		5 January 1772-82	9 December 1782	<i>Ibid.</i> 264	
	"	"			"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 263	

Linens specified	"	"	"	"	"	5 January 1772-80	20 May 1786	T. 64/275. 203	
All goods specified	"	E I	England	Flanders	"	Christmas 1772-9	3 November 1780	T. 64/283.	
Irish wool	Q	I	"	"	"	"	17 January 1782	T. 64/275. 159	
Irish woollen yarn	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 160	
Spanish or vicunha wool	"	"	"	"	"	"	29 January 1782	<i>Ibid.</i> 161	
• Silk, cotton, worsted, linen, mixed hose of English manufacture	Q V	"	"	North America, West Indies	"	Christmas 1772-4	29 March 1775	<i>Ibid.</i> 139	
Rape seed and oil	Q	I	"	"	"	Christmas 1772-3	27 February 1775	T. 64/276B. 408	
Train oil and blubber	"	"	All countries specified	"	"	"	"	T. 64/276A. 310	Edinburgh Customs House
Worsteds and linen hose of British manufacture	Q V	E	"	North America and West Indies	"	"	3 April 1775	T. 64/275. 140	
All goods	V	I E	All countries specified	England	"	"	13 March 1775	T. 64/273. 4	
"	"	E	England	Ireland	"	"	27 February 1775	<i>Ibid.</i> 10	
"	"	"	"	North American colonies specified	"	"	26 January 1775	<i>Ibid.</i> 37	
Rice	Q	I E	"	"	"	1 January-30 November 1772	18 December 1772	T. 64/276B. 320	

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From.	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Oats	Q	I	All countries specified		1 January-30 November 1772	18 December 1772	T. 64/274. 91	
Salted beef, butter, bacon, pork	"	"	Ireland, British dominions in America		1 January-10 October 1772	8 December 1772	<i>Ibid.</i> 101	
Wheat, etc.	"	"		Ports specified	20 May-10 October 1772	18 December 1772	<i>Ibid.</i> 92	
Argol, verdigris, sugar of lead	"	"	All countries specified		Christmas 1773-83	15 December 1784	T. 64/276B. 352	
All goods specified		E I	England	Spain	"	21 April 1785	T. 64/284.	
Tin	Q	E		All countries specified	"	24 December 1784	T. 64/276A. 225	
British linens	"	"	All countries specified		1773, 1774, 1783	4 March 1785	T. 64/275. 200	
West India produce, specified	"	"	England	All countries specified	"	12 April 1785	T. 64/273. 42	
Foreign linens	"	"	All countries specified		"	8 March 1785	T. 64/275. 201	
West India produce, specified	"	I	West Indies	England	"	12 April 1785	T. 64/273. 41	
Furs and skins	Q V	"			1773-5	11 February 1783	T. 64/276A. 234	
Corn, etc.	Q	E		All countries specified	10 October 1773-10 October 1774	29 November 1771	T. 64/274. 76	

Coffee	"	"	"	Christmas 1773-4	28 April 1775	T. 64/276B. 315
"	"	I	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 316
Bark	"	E	All countries specified	Christmas 1774-84	23 June 1785	T. 64/276A. 218
Leather manufactures	"	"	"	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 242
Live cattle	"	I	All countries specified	"	7 July 1785	T. 64/274. 110
Merchandise	"	"	Liverpool	Christmas 1774-81	15 March 1782	T. 64/276A. 266
Corn	"	Re-exported	Ports specified	Christmas 1774-27 November 1776	24 January 1777	T. 64/274. 81
Wheat, etc.	"	E	St. Helena	1774, 1775, 1 January-9 May 1776	9 May 1776	<i>Ibid.</i> 79
Corn, etc.	"	"	All countries specified	10 October 1774-10 October 1775	31 October 1775	<i>Ibid.</i> 78
All goods	V	I E	London and out-ports	Christmas 1774-5	8 April 1777	T. 64/273. 5
Corn, etc.	Q	E	"	5 July 1775-5 July 1776	6 November 1776	T. 64/274. 80
All goods and merchandise specified	"	"	North America, ports specified (some exceptions because of Rebellion)	22 December 1775-13 May 1776 specified	8 November 1776	Bodleian Library, MS. North B. 69
Corn	"	I	Ports specified	21 January-12 July 1775	1 September 1775	T. 64/274. 94

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Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	In-ported or Ex-ported.	From	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
Biscuit and pease	Q	E	Ports specified	Newfoundland	1 January-4 July 1775	8 July 1775	T. 64/274. 104	
English produce and manufactures specified	"	"	England	St. Eustatius and St. Martin	Christmas 1776-80	26 April 1781	T. 64/273. 40	
(a) British and Irish (b) Foreign linens	"	"	"	"	"	7 May 1781	T. 64/275. 195	
Linen	"	I	Ireland, other countries	"	Christmas 1776-9	12 February 1782	<i>Ibid.</i> 196	
Wrought leather	"	E	"	All countries specified	Christmas 1777-84	13 July 1785	T. 64/276A. 243	
Wrought iron	"	"	"	"	"	8 July 1785	<i>Ibid.</i> 254	
Hides	"	I	All countries specified	Great Britain	"	7 July 1785	<i>Ibid.</i> 236	
Mahogany, satin-wood, rosewood, etc.	"	"	"	"	Christmas 1777-83	11 April 1785	T. 64/276B. 417	
British plantation tobacco	"	"	British Indies	"	5 January 1777-81	5 April 1781	<i>Ibid.</i> 335	
Cotton goods	"	E	"	"	Christmas 1777-80	7 May 1781	T. 64/275. 144	
All goods specified	Q V	I	Ireland	England	Christmas 1778-83	22 February 1785	T. 64/273. 14	
Produce and manufacture	"	E	England	Ireland	"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 13	

All goods specified	Q	I	Ireland and other parts of Europe	England	"	18 February 1785	<i>Ibid.</i> 12
"	"	I E	England	Ireland	"	14 February 1785	<i>Ibid.</i> 11
"	Q V	E	"	"	"	22 February 1785	<i>Ibid.</i> 15
Gunpowder and military stores	Q	"		Ships and destinations	28 February-7 March 1778	7 March 1778	T. 64/276B. 414
Wool	"	"	Port of London		1 August 1780-6	14 August 1786	T. 64/275. 162
"	"	"	Outports		"	18 August 1786	<i>Ibid.</i> 163
Coffee	"	"			Christmas 1780-5	27 March 1786	T. 64/276B. 317
Foreign linens	"	"		All countries specified	Christmas 1780-3	19 January 1785	T. 64/275. 199
Normandy canvas, Vitry canvas and drilling or pack duck	"	I	Each country		"	"	<i>Ibid.</i> 198
	"	E I	"		"	3 January 1785	<i>Ibid.</i> 197
All goods	V	I E	England	All countries specified	"	17 August 1785	T. 64/273. 7
All goods specified, except wines and tobacco	Q	E	"	Ireland	"	23 March 1785	<i>Ibid.</i> 16
Tobacco	"	I	West Indies		5 January 1780-1	27 February 1781	T. 64/276B. 334
British plantation tobacco	"	"	British West Indies		25 December 1780-25 March 1781	26 April 1781	<i>Ibid.</i> 336

Commodities.	Value or Quantities.	Imported or Exported.	From	To.	Period Covered.	Date of Return.	Reference.	Remarks.
All goods specified	Q	I E	England	All countries	1781, 1782	17 May 1783	T. 64/273. 6	
Coconuts	"	I			Christmas 1782-5	4 April 1786	T. 64/276B. 418	
Mocha and West India coffee	"	"			"	"	Ibid. 318	
All goods specified	Q V	E		Austrian Netherlands	Christmas 1782-3	26 October 1784	T. 64/273. 51	
All goods	"	I	Austrian Netherlands		"	5 November 1784	Ibid. 52	
All goods specified	"	E	England	Trieste	"	8 November 1784	Ibid. 53	
All goods • • •	V	E I	Austrian Netherlands and Trieste		"	1784	Ibid. 54	Rough note
Corn	Q	I		Ports specified	5 July-12 December 1782	22 January 1783	T. 64/274. 96	
Corn, etc.	"	E		Countries specified	1 October 1782-1 January 1783	18 February 1783	Ibid. 83	

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